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CHRONOLOGY
OF
ANCIENT INDIA





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From the Times of the Rigvedic King Divodāsa to
Chandragupta Maurya, with Glimpses into the
Political History of the Period.

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CALCUTTA

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1927





TO THE BELOVED MEMORY
OF
THAT DEPARTED GREAT
SIR ASHUTOSH MUKHOPADHYAY
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED AS A
TOKEN OF THE AUTHOR'S HIGHEST
RESPECT, ADMIRATION AND ESTEEM.



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PREFACE.

For about the last ten years I have been thinking whether a systematic enquiry into the chronology of Vedic India with glimpses into her political history can be carried on on scientific lines with the wealth of materials interspersed in her vast ancient literature. I saw with extreme regret that workers in this field were few, whether in India or abroad, although it is well-known that the last generation of scholars in Europe have contributed something substantial though somewhat in their own way. I also perceived that text-books on the history of India practically begin with the age of Gautama Buddha, although a civilization coming almost from a hoary antiquity, and not less important in cultural value, lies at its back. I welcomed with joy the interesting enquiries into the maritime activity, the corporate life, the council government &c. of ancient Indians, but cannot help pronouncing that most of these enquiries are of the static type, very few having taken up a dynamic work relating to ancient India, although many realize that undated history is no history at all. These are the thoughts that impelled me to utilize my leisure hours for a systematic study of the chronology of Vedic, Brahmanic and Buddhist India.

Realizing the importance of the subject, I studied the *R̥gveda* and found that most of the kings and *R̥jis* mentioned there, are also mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Upa-niṣats*, the *Śrauta Sūtras* &c. It became at once clear to me that the Puranic genealogies were originally intended for describing the various dynasties of kings who parcelled out and ruled India of the Vedic Period and that epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have developed round

historical personages belonging to the Vedic Age. I cannot help emphasising this point very strongly for I find that even such a modern man as Dr. Abinash Chandra Das has posited the existence of a Puranic Period which is a misnomer, to say the least of it, and that expressions like 'History of Vedic and Epic India' used by some University men are unhappy for epics were written on Vedic characters.

When I examined carefully the accounts and the dynastic lists preserved in the Purāṇas I perceived some of these lists were incorrect at some places. This inference forced itself on me when I noticed that Puranic evidences were sometimes conflicting. But as there were here and there very valuable synchronisms furnished by them, the positions of kings and Rsis could be deemed as finally fixed only if they did not run counter to the evidences derivable from the Rgveda and other Vedic works. Accordingly I chose to attack the subject on the ground of ancient Indian geneologies and traditions preserved in the secular works such as the Purāṇas and Epics, checked and confirmed by the very valuable informations and evidences derivable from a study of Vedic literature in general.

Penetrating into the subject, I realized that it was one of the most difficult ones and would tax me my life-long labours in this direction. For this reason I have at present confined myself to the Chronology of the later Rgvedic Period only. By the later Rgvedic Period I mean the period between the age of the famous Rgvedic King Atithigva Divōdāsa and the time of the events of the Mahābhārata.

It is sufficiently well-known that Vyāsa Parāśarya, the putative father of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra compiled and grouped the Vedas. For this reason this island-born (= Dvaipāyana) sage was well-known as Vedavyāsa. I have discovered that the Rgvedic hymns were composed even up to the time when the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha was burnt down by Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Hence the lower limit

of the R̥gvedic Period extends right up to some of the incidents described in the Mahābhārata. Accordingly by the later R̥gvedic Period I have understood the period ranging between the time of Divōdāsa to that of the events of the Mahābhārata just referred to.

A brief general character of the informations supplied by the Purāṇas is set out here. The Purāṇas profess to give us the ancient history of Aryan India. In doing so they begin from the earliest R̥gvedic Period describing genealogies of kings who established kingdoms and principalities and thus parcelled out and ruled ancient India. Occasionally the feats and achievements of kings and R̥sis are related, battles mentioned and described, noticeable incidents and happenings recorded and very valuable synchronisms noted down. In this their business, the Purāṇas sometimes naturally conflict; sometimes the same Purāṇa makes though rarely different statements in different places; very often they corrupt the names of persons; sometimes one dynasty is merged or interwoven into or tacked on to another owing to the corrupt reading that have crept in, the result being a preposterously long line of kings; sometimes collateral successions are described as lineal; sometimes the orders of succession are reversed; sometimes dynasties are lengthened owing to various kinds of corrupt readings, even a synchronism has been found to be misplaced owing to a similarity of names; divergent synchronisms have been recorded. For these reasons, it is of utmost importance to compare the various Puranic accounts, amongst themselves, to correct them in the light of Vedic, Buddhistic and other external evidences, in order that the ancient Indian history may be properly understood.

The evidences derived from the Vedic literature are indeed very strong and generally carry more authority inasmuch as many of them are either directly contemporary records or are traditions derived from contemporary evidences.

This is particularly the case with these of the R̥gveda. Even the synchronisms mentioned in the Ākhyānas or narratives recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and Anukramanīs to the R̥gveda such as the Bṛhaddevata &c. fit in exactly with the exigencies of the genealogies as adjusted by us and their fairly large number connecting the various dynasties in an admirable way compels the historian to accept their value and their efficiency as sources of historical evidence. But too much reliance on them as is placed by some religiously disposed Indians (calling them revelations), is dangerous. For example, it should be recognised that the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa which is a very late Brāhmaṇa has wrongly placed R̥ṣyaśr̥ṅga Kāśyapa above Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa whose son R̥ṣyaśr̥ṅga really was. The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa in giving us a list of teachers omits steps between Jaimini and Pauspindya rightly filled up by the Vāyu which inserts Śumantu, Sutvan, and Sukarman between them. Similarly small lists of teachers in the Brāhmaṇas are sometimes to be used with caution. Too much importance as Sankara has said can be attached to nothing but reason. Generally it has been taken for granted that a detailed information from a particular source is an indication of the source being well-informed, for a detailed information is only possible from a well-informed true tradition and hence may be used as a historical matter excepting what is a manufactured tale or a mythology derived from blind popular beliefs.

There have been several stages of compilation of the Purāṇa. The first was that by Vyāsa Pārāśarya from various sources probably of floating literature such as the Gāthās, the statements and songs of Sūtas, Māgadhas, Paurāṇikas, Purāṇajñas and Purāvits. &c. The second redaction was that at the beginning of reign of Senajit, the Māgadha king who was 15 steps above the last Bārhadratha king Ripuñjaya. A long time probably elapsed bet-

ween the second and the third redaction as can be inferred from the Puranic confusion about—the Pradyōta, the Śisunāga, the Bimbisarian, and the Nanda dynasties, both as regards their succession and chronology. It was during this interval that the succession of the first Andhra king to the last Kāṇva king was wrongly recorded. This third redaction incorporated historical matter in prophetic guise. The fourth redaction took place in the Gupta Period, the Vāyu and the Matsya earlier in that Period than the Viṣṇu and the others. The Bhāgavata was much later and drew from the Viṣṇu. The Padma was later than Saṅkarācārya whom it calls a disguised Buddhist. Evidently at the time of the fourth redaction the several modern Purāṇas as we now possess them sprang into existence owing the existence of several religious sects.

I propose to give here a brief review of the scheme I have followed and the results I have obtained. In Chapter I of my enquiry, I have found that the famous king Atithigva Divōdāsa of the R̥gveda was no other than Divōdāsa, the brother of Abalyā, of the Purāṇas. In Chapter II I have found out what kings of other dynasties were contemporaries of Divōdāsa. The latter were the king Satvant of the Yadus, the king Vitahavya of the Haihayas, the Paurava king Kṛta whose son Uparicara Vasu occupied the country of Cedi, the king Sārvabhauma or R̥kṣa, the son of Viduratha of the line of Hastināpura, the Southern Pāñcāla king Senajit, Rōmapāda-Daśaratha of the dynasty of Anga Vāleya, the Aikṣvāka king Daśaratha the father of Rāma, the king Śrādhvaja of the Janaka dynasty, the Southern Kōśala king Sudāsa, the father of Kalmāapāda, the descendant of R̥tuparna Aikṣvāka.

In Chapter III, I have given a detailed description of the dynasty that sprang from the Yādava king Satvant. In this connection, I have found that all the Purāṇas excepting the Vāyu and the Matsya are wrong in supposing that the

father of king Purarvasu was Abhijit. From the Vāyu 96, 118-119 I have proved that the Yādava king Bhava surnamed Candanōdakadundubhi instituted an Aśvamedha sacrifice for a son to be born to him, and during the session of the Aśvamedha when Stōtras were being chanted in the Abhijit Atirātra sacrifice of that session, Punarvasu (the son of Bhava-Candanōdakadundubhi) rose from the centre of the Sadas (Sadōmadhyāt). The Vāyu appears to me to have preserved a text faithfully describing the incidents and containing terms technical to sacrificial literature, which in later times were not properly understood, with the result that the other Purāṇas except the Matsya have in some places paraphrased the Vāyu with indifferent variants and wrong interpretations. On this and other grounds I have established the priority of the Vāyu over the other Purāṇas so far as the Vedic Age is concerned. Thus the number of successive lineal descendants of the Yādava king Satvant through Andhaka and Kukura down to Kamsa Augrasenya has been determined to show that Kamsa, the uncle of Śrīkṛṣṇa, was removed by eleven generations from his ancestor, the king Satvant. And as Satvant was a contemporary of Divōdāsa, the latter was separated by twelve generations from Śrīkṛṣṇa and therefore from the events of the Mahābhārata.

In Chapter IV, I have determined the dynasty that sprang from the Haihaya king Viśahavya and have shown that both the Gauda and the Kumbakōnam recensions are wrong in their attempt to give us the dynasty. This dynasty has been correctly adjusted with the help of the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtras and tends to show that Divōdāsa was earlier than the events of the Mahābhārata by about 14 generations.

In Chapter V, I have taken up to describe the Māgadha dynasty in detail. In doing this, I have found that the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata are wrong in supposing that the mother of Vedavyāsa was the daughter of Uparicara Vaṇu.

The error of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata has been due to the mythological attempt made in later times by the writers of the Mahābhārata to ascribe high connections to Veda-vyāsa on the mother's side. Thus the Māgadha dynasty as adjusted by me tends to show that Divōdāsa was approximately 13 generations earlier than the Mahābhārata episode.

In Chapter VI, I have described the Hastināpura line Viduratha's son Sarvabhauma and have shown that the dynasty has been very roughly handled by the Purāṇikas and that the two Mahābhārata accounts of this dynasty are not satisfactory. This dynasty adjusted by me tends to show that Sārvaabhauma who was a contemporary of Divōdāsa was earlier than the events of the Mahābhārata by about 15 generations.

In Chapter VII, I have given a detailed description of the Northern Pāṇcālas and have shown that the Purāṇas are all defective and incomplete in this respect and that this dynasty as adjusted by Mr. Partiter in J. R. A. S. 1910 is likewise unsatisfactory. In this connection, I have pointed that Pijavana, the father of the famous R̥gvedic king Sudāsa is mentioned in the Purāṇas, and nearly correctly in the Vāyu (Pi-Cyavana). I have completed the Northern Pāṇcālas from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and thus have proved from sources entirely Vedic that Divōdāsa was earlier by 12 generations than the time of the Mahābhārata episode.

In Chapter VIII, I have described the Southern Pāṇcāla line and have shown that the statement in the Harivaṃśa about the contemporaneity of Brahmadaṭṭa and Pratīpa, as well as the statement in all the Purāṇas that Brahmadaṭṭa's father Aṇūha married Kṛtvī, the daughter of Śuka Kāśṇi are irreconcilable. As both these traditions can be supported by evidences from the Mahābhārata, the situation becomes really difficult to solve. If the former i. e. the Harivaṃśa account is credited, then Senajit, the contemporary of

Divōdāsa becomes 15 generations earlier than the Mahābhārata episode, while if the latter account is held as correct the period intervening between Divōdāsa and Dhṛṣṭadyumna becomes one of approximately 11 generations.

In Chapter IX, I have examined in detail the dynasty that sprang from the Anga king Rōmapāda-Daśaratha and have shown that all the Purāṇas are more or less defective. I have correctly adjusted the dynasty which goes to show that the period between Romapāda and Karna (i. e. the period between Divōdāsa and Dhṛṣṭadyumna) was one of 13 generations.

In Chapter X, I have critically examined the Aikṣvāka dynasty in detail from Daśaratha downwards. The Purāṇas are unanimous in stating the names of the successive lineal descendants of Daśaratha down to Ahinagu. After Ahinagu, the Purāṇas diverge and may be classed into two schools, the Vāyu school and the Matsya school. I have shown that the Vāyu school of Purāṇas are wrong in so far as they appear to describe Śala, Dala and Bala as the successive lineal descendants after Pāriyātra the son of Ahinagu. I have proved that Śala, Dala and Bala were really brothers and hence the succession here was collateral and not lineal as represented in the Purāṇas. After this, I have proved that Bala's son Ukakha lived when Yudhiṣṭhira Pāṇḍava performed the Rājāsūya sacrifice previous to which Uktha was defeated by Bhīma Pāṇḍava. Proceeding downwards with the lineal descendants of Uktha, I have discovered that Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya was the contemporary of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, the grandson of Abhimanyu Arjuni. Thus I have broken up the Ikṣvāku dynasty into two, one of the descendants of Kūśa, the other of the descendants of Lava, and have proved that Bṛhadvala was a descendant of Lava and belonged to the Śrāvastī line. The number of lineal descendants of Kūśa as well as of Lava, tends to show that the age of Daśaratha Aikṣvāka or Pāñcāla Divōdāsa

was earlier by 15 generations than the time of the events described in the Mahābhārata.

In Chapter XI, I have critically examined the Janaka dynasty from Śiradhvaja Janaka downwards. I have proved that the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata have made a mess about this dynasty, in tacking one branch on to the last member of the other and that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa has interwoven the Sāṅkṣīyā line into the Mithilā line and that the Vāyu is perfect so far as one branch is concerned. Both the branches of the Janaka dynasty however go to show that Śiradhvaja Janaka was earlier than the Mahābhārata episode by approximately about 15 generations.

In Chapter XII of my enquiry I have described the Southern Kōsala branch of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and have shown that Rṭuparṇa was the king not of Ayōdhyā in the Aryāvarta, but of the Southern Kōsala situated south of the Vindhya. I have further pointed out that the town named Pandanya which the Mahābhārata describes as having been founded by Āśmaka, the son of Kalnāṣapāda, was no other than Pōtana of the Assakas during the Buddhist period.

In Chapter XIII I have supported the subject of my enquiry with the evidence derived from the Kāśi dynasty that sprang from Divōdāsa and have proved that Divōdāsa was earlier by 13 generations than Sukumāra who took part in the Mahābhārata war.

In Chapter XIV, I have supported the subject of my enquiry with the evidence derived from the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda and thus have proved from an *entirely Vedic* source that the age of Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa, a contemporary of Daśaratha and therefore of Divōdāsa, was earlier than the events of the Mahābhārata by a period during which 13 successive teachers taught.

In Chapter XV I have collected very important informations about the distinguished Rsis belonging to the period dealt with by me. They were Bharadvāja Vājineya, Rkṣa

Vālmiki (=the son of Valmika Bhārgava), Vāk,—the daughter of Ambṛṣa, Jaigīṣavya, Asita, Devala, Dharmya &c. ; I have then identified the Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Puruṣa sūkta of the R̥gveda with the famous Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa of Viśālā Badarī or Badarikāśrama and have discovered that the word Nārāyaṇa, after all, was the name of a historical personage belonging to an ancient age. After Nārāyaṇa, I have taken up the case of Vedavyāsa and have discovered that this Ṛṣi compiled and grouped the Vedas after his youthful grandson Arjuna Pāṇḍava burnt down the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha.

Thus after fully going over the later R̥gvedic Period particularly its genealogical aspect, I have, in Chapter XVI, deduced the chronology of the later R̥gvedic Period from genealogical considerations taking into account the characteristic differences of different families with respect to adolescence, puberty and longevity, and have, in Chapter XVII examined in detail the Vedic chronology of Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, as developed in his 'Rigvedic India,' and have proved that the chronological attitude of Dr. Das is scarcely tenable. In this connection, I have pointed out that Dr. Das has apparently used all the arguments, vague as they are, of Mr. N. B. Pavjee embodied in the book entitled *Āryāvartīc Home or the Cradle of Sapta-Sindhu*. In the same Chapter, I have briefly noted the views of scholars outside India.

In Chapter XVIII, I have endeavoured to prove that the astronomical system built up by Tilak in his 'Orion' rests on an unstable basis.

In Chapter XIX I have taken up the much vexed question of the Aryan Settlement of India during the R̥gvedic Period and have proved that the R̥gvedic Period represents a full-fledged Indo-Aryan civilization spread almost all over the Āryāvarta with the non-Aryans scattered here and there. Not to speak of the Āryāvarta, even a portion of the Dak-

śiṅāpatha was already occupied sometime before the famous R̥gvedic king Atithigva Divōdāsa. Thus I have proved that the view of Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, that the R̥gvedic Aryans were couped up in the Punjab to the west of the Sarasvatī has no ground to stand upon.

Thus after finishing my enquiries about the later R̥gvedic Period I have devoted the four subsequent chapters to the determination of the date of the Mahābhārata war. To do this, I have, in Chapter XX, determined the succession from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta Maurya and have tried to bring about an agreement amongst the Purāṇas, the Buddhist Pāli Canon and the Jain evidences. Next I have, in Chapter XXI, adjusted the Pradyōta dynasty proving that the Puranic account of that dynasty is anything but satisfactory and then I have found that the last 5 years of the reign of Candā Pradyōta coalesced with the first 5 years of the reign of Ajātaśatru. In Chapter XXII, I have deduced the important dates of accession of Candā Pradyōta, of Udayana, the king of Kauśāmbī, and of Prasenajit, the kigg of Kōśala. With these dates as my starting points, I have, in Chapter XXIII, calculated the date of the Mahābhārata war from genealogical considerations of the Kōśala line of the descendants of Bṛhadvala, the Māgadha line of the descendants of Sahadeva Jārāsandhi, and the Paurava line of the descendants of Arjuna Pāṇḍava. In this connection, I have shown that Dr. Fleet's calculation of the reign-period of Yudhiṣṭhira Pāṇḍava having been one of 20 years only is untenable. After this I have supported by calculation of the date of the Mahābhārata war by the Puranic figures given for the reign-periods of the successive kings of the Bārhadratha dynasty. In conclusion, I have supported the same calculation of the date of the great war by an astronomical calculation based on the position of solstitial colures. In doing this, I have shown that the method of calculation adopted by Babu Bankim Chandra

Chattōpādhyāya is defective. According to me, Archdeacon Pratt's method which I have appended to my calculation, is the neatest of all, although I have chosen to strike out a slightly different path.

Some scholars may suspect that I have tried to bring down the Vedic civilization to comparatively late times but I may assure them that I took up my subject with quite an open mind with a sincere desire to arrive at truth. I should as well mention here that as I have proceeded on my enquiry it has been forced upon me that to rely exclusively on the Vedas for the history of Vedic India is to be on a perfectly wrong track. The Vedas authentic as they surely are, throw light on but certain towering land-marks; it is the Parāṇas which can supply us with the connecting links, and the portions only of the long chain are illuminated by the flash-light of the Vedas.

My thanks are due to my former colleague Professor Vanamali Vedāntatīrtha M. A. whose constant encouragement and keen interest in me were a source of perpetual inspiration to my activities. My thanks also are due to late Sir Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya Kt., C. S. I., &c. &c. but for whose kind patronage and appreciation this volume would not have seen the light. It was solely due to his efforts that I was able to secure the permission of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University to appear for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy although I was a votary of Natural Philosophy.

An excuse is probably necessary for the delay in the publication of the book. I submitted this thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Calcutta in the 1st week of July 1921. It was approved and I was admitted into the Degree in 1922. It was after the Annual Convocation of 1922 held in March 1923 that the thesis was accepted by the University for publication. Unfortunately I was attacked with Neurasthenia in August

1923 and became unable to go through the proof-sheets and the work of printing had to be stopped. I recovered and took up the work in November 1924, and after that time the extreme dilatoriness of the Cotton Press in which it was placed is solely responsible for the delay in printing.

I now lay the fruits of my labour continued through about ten years before scholars who will, I am confident, take them for what they are worth.



ABBREVIATIONS.

Works consulted	Abbreviations.
Rgveda with Sāyana edited by Max Müller 2nd Edition	Rv.
Rgveda, Bombay Edition.	
Rgveda translated into Bengali by R. C. Datta 2nd Edition.	
Sāma-vedasya Āraṇya Saṃhitā (Jivānanda Vidyāsagara Edition)	Samh. Ar. Samh.
Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Ānandāśrama Press edition by Ve. Sā. Rā. Kāśinātha Sāstrī Āgāśe	Taitt. Samh.
Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā edited by Von Schroeder, published by F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig	Mait. Samh.
Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, edited by Von Schroeder, published by F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig	Kat. Samh.
Atharva Veda with the Bhāṣya of Sāyana edited by Sankara Pandurang Pandit for the Government of Bombay.	AV.
Atharvaveda translated by William Dwight Whitney, revised and edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman, published by the Harvard University.	
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Nirnaya Sāgara Press edition) by Vāsudeva Sarman Panaśi- kara and Kṛṣṇambhatta Gōre)	Ait. Bra.
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, (Ānandāśrama Press edition by Kāśinātha Sāstrī Āgāśhe).	

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, translated into Bengali by R. S. Trivedi M. A., (Vangīya Sāhitya-Parīṣat edition).	
Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (Ānandāśrama Press edition by Rā. Rā Gulāvarāya Vajesaṅkaracchāyā)	Sankh. Bra.
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (Ānandāśrama Press edition) by Ve. Sā. Rā. Nārāyaṇaśāstri Gōḍabāle	Taitt. Bra.
Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Berlin edition by Albrecht Weber)	Sat. Bra.
Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Ajmer Vaidika yantrālaya edition).	
Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Bibliotheca Indica by Satyabrata Sarmaśramin).	
Tāpdyo Mahābrāhmaṇa or Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-Veda edited by Ananda Chandra Vedanta Vāgīśa and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Panc. Bra.
Daivata Brāhmaṇa (Jivānanda Vidyā-sāgara edition)	Daiv. Bra.
Saḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (Jivānanda Vidyā-sāgara edition)	Sadv. Bra.
Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa (Jivānanda Vidyā-sāgara edition)	Gop. Bra.
Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa (Burnell's edition)	Sam. Vid. Bra.
Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa (Satyabrata Samasramin's edition)	Ara. Bra.
Vamśa Brāhmaṇa (Satyabrata Samasramin's edition)	Vams. Bra.
Jaiminīya Upaniṣat Brāhmaṇa (Dayānanda Mahāvīdyālaya Sanskrit Series edition)	

by Pandit Rāma Deva and Bhagavad-datta)	Jaim. Up. Bra.
Aitareya Āraṇyaka (Ānandāśrama Press edition by Ve. Śā. Rā. Bābāshastri Phadake)	Ait. Ar.
Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka (Ānandāśrama Press edition by Śrīdhara Shastri Pathaka) ..	Sankh. Ar.
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (Ānandāśrama Press edition by Ve. Śā. Rā. Bābāshastri Phadake)	Taitt. Ar.
Aṣṭōttaraśatōpaniṣats (Nirnayaśāgara Press edition)	Chand. Up. Brd. Ar. Up. &c.
Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra (Nirnaya Śāgara Press edition by Vāsudeva Sarman Panaśikara and Kṛṣṇambhatta Gōre)	Asva. Srau.
Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (Bengal Asiatic Society edition by Alfred Hillebrandt) ..	Sankh. Srau.
Āpastamba-Śrauta Sūtra belonging to the Taittirīya Saṃhita with the commentary of Rudradatta edited by Dr. Richard Garbe Ph. D. and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal ..	Apst. Srau.
Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra with the commentary of Agniswami edited by Ānanda candra Vedāntavāgiśa and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal ..	Lat. Srau.
Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra belonging to the to the Taittirīya Saṃhita edited by Dr. W. Calland and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Baudh. Srau.
Rāmāyana (Nirnaya Śāgara Press edition by Vāsudeva Lakṣmana Shāstri Panaśikara)	N. Ram.

Rāmāyaṇa (Vangavāsi Press edition) ..	V. Ram.
Mahābhārata (Kumbakōṇam edition by Kṛṣṇācārya and Vyāsācārya) ..	Kumb. MBh.
Mahābhārata (Vangavasi Press edition of VardhamānaRājabātir Mahābharata) by Pancānana Tarkaratna) ..	Gd. MBh.
Bṛhaddevatā (Harvard Oriental Series edition, by Dr. Macdonell) ..	Br. Dv.
Nirukta of Yāska (Nirnaya Sāgara Press edition by Vasudeva Sarman Pana- sikara)	Nir.
Nirukta of Yāska, Gottingen edition, by Dr. Rudolph Roth.	
Sanskāra Ratnamālā of Gopināthabhaṭṭa (Anandasrama Press edition by Ve. Sā. Rā. Kāsinatha Śhastrī Āgāshe and Ve. Sā. Rā. Bābāśhastrī Phadake)	
Sarvānukramaṇī to the R̥gveda by Kātyā- yana, with the Vedārthadīpikā of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (Oxford University Press by Dr. Macdonell)	Sarv. Kram.
Twenty Dharmashastras namely of Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārīta &c., Vangavasi Press Edition.	
Vāyu Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama Press edition)	Va.
Vāyu Purāṇa (Vangavāsi Press edition by Pancānana Tarkaratna.)	
Mataya Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama Press edition)	
Matsya Purāṇa (Vangavasi Press edition by Pancānana Tarkaratna, Tarakanta Kavyatīrtha, Kṛṣṇadāsa śhastrī, Śrīra- ma Śhastrī, Kudarāma Kāvyaaratna)	Mt.
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (Venkatesvara Press edition)	Bd.

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa (From Pargiter's Texts).	
Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Vs.
Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Wilson's Translation).	
Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and Virasīṅgha Śhastrī)	Bh.
Harivamśa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Hv.
Brahma Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Bm.
Kūrma Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Km.
Līṅga Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Lg.
Agni Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Ag.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Dhirānanda Kavyanidhi, Virasīṅgha Śhastrī)	Mark.
Śiva Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Sv.
Garuḍa Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Ger.
Skanda Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna)	Sk.
Saura Purāṇa (Vangavāsī Press edition by Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Jagannatha Vidyāratna, Viresh Chandra Kāvya-tīrtha)	Sr.
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Kṣitīśa Vamśavalīcarita	Ksit. Vams.
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wad Oriental Series.
- Word-index of the four Vedas, Gaekwar
Oriental Series
- Āryāvartie Home or the Cradle of Sapta
-Sindhu by N. B. Pavjee.
- Other abbreviations are readily intelligible.



TRANSLITERATION.

অ	a	উ	d
আ	ā	ট	dh
ই	i	ণ	n
ঈ	ī	ত	t
উ	u	থ	th
ঊ	ū	দ	d
ঋ	r	ধ	dh
৳	|	ন	n
এ	e	প	p
ঐ	ai	ফ	ph
ও	ō	ব	b
ঔ	au	ভ	bh
ক	k	ম	m
খ	kh	য	y
গ	g	র	r
ঘ	gh	ল	l
ঙ	ñ	ব	v
চ	c	শ	ś
ছ	ch	ষ	ṣ
জ	j	স	s
ঝ	jh	হ	h
ঞ	ñ	ক	ka
ট	t	ঃ	m or m
ঠ	th	ঃ	h



CHAPTER I.

DIVŌDĀSA AND DAŚARATHA

THERE was a king named Ajamīdha who belonged to the dynasty of Puru, the son of Yayāti Nāhuṅa. Ajamīdha and Purumīdha were brothers¹ and were joint authors of Vedic hymns². Purumīdha died without issue³.

Ajamīdha had three wives Nilinī, Kēśinī and Dhūminī⁴. By his first wife Nilinī, Ajamīdha had a son named Nīla⁵ and two other sons named Duśmanta and Parameṣṭhin⁶. The sons of Duśmanta and Parameṣṭhin became known as the Pāñcālas⁷ while Nīla became the father of a son named Śānti⁸. Śānti's son was Susānti⁹, the father of Purujānu¹⁰. After Purujānu, we have Rikṣa¹¹ according to the Vāyu, Cakṣu¹² according to the Viṣṇu, Arka¹³ according to the Bhāgavata and Pṛthu¹⁴ according to the Matsya. The real name of the son of Purujānu is Trikṣa and not Arka of the Bhāgavata, which Mr. Pargiter has accepted, for Trikṣa is indicated in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra¹⁵.

¹ Va. 99, 166 ; Vs. IV, 19, 10 ; Mt. 49, 43 ; Ag. 278, 15 ; Hv. I, 32, 41 ; Brn. 13, 81 ; Bh. IX, 21, 21.

² Sarv. Kram. and Say. Kram. to Rv. IV, 43.

³ Bh. IX, 21, 30.

⁴ Va. 99, 167 ; Mt. 49, 44.

⁵ Va. 99, 194 ; Mt. 50, 1 ; Vs. IV, 19, 15 ; Bh. IX, 21, 30.

⁶ ऋक्षं च विन्दश्च नीलो दुश्मन्तपरमेष्ठिनौ — Gd. MBh. I, 94, 32.

⁷ Gd. MBh. I, 94, 33.

⁸ Vs. IV, 19, 15 ; Bh. IX, 21, 31.

⁹ Vs. IV, 19, 15 ; Bh. IX, 21, 31.

¹⁰ Va. 99, 195 ; Bh. IX, 21, 31 ; Hv. I, 32, 64 ; Brn. 13, 93 ; Ag. 278, 19.

¹¹ Va. 99, 195. ¹² Vs. IV, 19, 15. ¹³ Bh. IX, 21, 31.

¹⁴ Mt. 50, 2. ¹⁵ Āśva. Śrau. II, 6 ; Pargiter in JRAS, 1920.

Similarly, Tṛkṣa's son is named variously in the Puranas. We have the names Bharmyaśva¹, Bhadrāśva², Bāhyāśva³ and Haryaśva⁴ etc. Kātyāyana uses the patronymic Bhārmyaśva⁵. From this patronymic form Sāyana seems to infer that the personal name of the man was Bharmyaśva⁶, that being the form given in Professor Max Müller's edition. The Bombay edition of Sāyana gives us the form Bharmyaśva. But both these forms appear to be corrupt, as we find the form Bhṛmyaśva used and explained by Yāska. In his Nirukta he makes the name mean 'one whose horses are active' [भृमयः चक्षे चक्षः] or 'one who maintains horses' [चक्षभरपादा]'. We take the form Bhṛmyaśva as correct. Bhṛmyaśva is stated in the Puranas⁷ to have been the father of five sons Mudgala, Sṛṅjaya, Brhadisu, Yaviyān and Kāmpilya. After this, the Vāyu says⁸ "Mudgala's eldest son was the far-famed Brahmiṣṭha; from him (i.e. Brahmiṣṭha) Indrasenā, his wife, got a son named Vadhyāśva". Now this is a serious error in the Vāyu; and this has misled Mr. Pargiter. The Matsya makes the confusion worse confounded⁹ by making Indrasena the son of Brahmiṣṭha, and Vindhyaśva the son of Indrasena. The Harivamśa gives¹⁰ still another account and makes Brahmarṣi, the son of Mudgala's son, and Indrasenā the wife of this Brahmarṣi. The Brahma follows¹¹ the Vāyu

¹ Bh. IX, 21, 31.

² Mt. 50, 2.

³ Ag. 278, 19; Hv. I, 32, 64; Brm. 13, 93.

⁴ Va. IV, 19, 15.

⁵ Surv. Kram. to Rv. X, 102.

⁶ Say. Kram. to Rv. X, 102.

⁷ Nir. IX, 24.

⁸ Va. 99, 196; Va. IV, 19, 15; Mt. 50, 3; Bh. IX, 21, 31-32.

⁹ मुद्रवल्गु सुतो ज्येष्ठो ब्रह्मिष्ठः सुमहायया; ।

इन्द्रसेना यतो गर्भे बभूव सत्यवतः ॥—Va. 99, 200.

¹⁰ मुद्रवल्गु सुतो यतो ब्रह्मिष्ठः सुमहायया; ।

इन्द्रसेनः सुतवल्गु विष्णुवल्गुस्य पाशजः, ॥—Mt. 50, 6.

¹¹ श्रीब्रह्मवल्गु सुतो ज्येष्ठो ब्रह्मिष्ठः सुमहायया; ।

इन्द्रसेनो (ना) यतो गर्भे बभूव सत्यवतः ॥—Hv. I, 32, 69.

¹² मुद्रवल्गु इ दायादौ श्रीब्रह्मः सुमहायया; ।

इन्द्रसेना यतो गर्भे बभूव सत्यवतः ॥—Brm. 13, 97.

but differs as to the names. Thus there are hopelessly divergent statements in the Puranas each contradicting the others ; and Mr. Pargiter cannot be much blamed for his having been misled as regards the descendants of Mudgala. The Viṣṇu, however, says¹ quietly that Mudgala's son was Vpddhaśva, and the latter had Divōdāsa and Ahalyā as his son and daughter. It is evident that Vpddhaśva in the Viṣṇu stands for Vadhyaśva of the Vāyu, and for Vadhryaśva of the Hari-vamśa. The correct spelling however is Vadhryaśva, as sanctioned by the R̥gveda. The name Vadhryaśva means 'an impotent horse', or 'one whose horses are impotent', 'Vadhri' meaning 'impotent'.

Now the R̥gveda corrects the confusion amongst the Puranas, as to whose wife Indrasenā was. We see there² that Indrasenā was the wife of Mudgala and not of his son. She drove the chariot of her husband in a fight with the Dasyus, their enemies, and made huge captures of cows from them. We also find³ that Mudgala fastened the rim of the wheel of the chariot, and employed a bull for pulling the chariot into the fight, and the bull ran very swiftly. We find again⁴ that Mudgala held the reins made of leather and driving the chariot well, made huge captures of cows.

Then again in the Sāyanānukramaṇī we find⁵ that the author of the hymn (X. 102) was Mudgala, the son of Bhrmy-śva, and we have already seen in several ŋks of this hymn,

¹ मुड्गलान् वधश्च, इदंश्चान् दिवोदासीहत्या च विष्णुममभूत् ।—Vs. IV, 19, 16.

² वधुया इत्यौ वदति वाही यस्याः अदिराजं यदजयन् वधश्च ।

रथीरभूत् मुड्गलाको सवित्री भरे कर्तुं कथेदिन्द्रसेना ॥—Rv. X, 102, 2.

³ इत सविमुदधुवस्य विदालुपायुनस्य समसले कियन् ।

इन्द्र उदाश्वत्तिमग्नानामेवैवत गयानि, ककुभान् ॥—Rv. X, 102, 7.

⁴ इममद्राव्यवरान् कन्दौ वरकासां वाहीमग्नानाम् ।

वृध्वाणि कथन् वधुने जनाय गाः पस्वमानसवित्रीरथम् ॥—Rv. X, 102, 8.

⁵ भगवन् (भगवन्) इत्यौ मुड्गल इति..... ।

ए ते मुड्गली भगवन् य इत्यमेव द्रुक्तेन चानि जित्वा ।.....

मुड्गली भगवन् इतिवैवम् च द्रुक्तेन च मुड्गल इत्यमेव जित्वा चानि जित्वा ।

that Indrasenā was the wife of Mudgala who himself seems to have composed this hymn after their return from the battle. Hence it is clear that Indrasenā was the wife of Mudgala and not of his imaginary son Brahmīṣṭha. That particular line in the Vāyu Purana originally ran as : *इन्द्रस्य सुतो ज्येष्ठः* &c. instead of as *सुदृढस्य सुतो ज्येष्ठः* &c. and the error is evidently the scribe's error; 'अस्त्रिष्ठ' is clearly a qualifying adjective to 'सुदृढ'. This accords well with the sense of the preceding lines in the Vāyu. The total purport is that Bhṛm̐yās̐va had five sons, viz., Mudgala, Śrājaya, Bṛhadiṣu, Yaviyān and Kāmpilya; and of these, Mudgala was the eldest, thoroughly proficient in the Vedas, and by far the most famous amongst them. The word 'अस्त्रिष्ठ' undoubtedly refers to his having been an author of Vedic hymns.

Who was this Indrasenā, the wife of Mudgala? In the Mahābhārata we find¹ that the famous King Nala of Nisādha had a son named Indrasena and a daughter named Indrasenā by his wife Damayantī. The relative positions of R̥tuparna, the Ikṣvāku king, in the genealogical list of the Ikṣvākus, and of Mudgala in the Paurava genealogy, led me to suspect that Nala's daughter might be Mudgala's wife. To my agreeable surprise, I found after a long year's search that the Mahābhārata corroborates my suspicion. In the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata I found Lōmaśa Muni relating to Yudhiṣṭhira how Lōmapāda's daughter Śāntā wandered in the woods with her husband R̥yasaṅga. Lōmaśa says² "Oh king, Oh descendant of Ajamidha, Śāntā served R̥yasaṅga in the woods with love, just as Indrasenā, the daughter of Nala (Nālāyani Cendrasenā) was ever obedient to Mudgala". Indrasenā is here called Nālāyani i.e. Nala's daughter. She is also called the daughter of Damayantī in another place of the

¹ दमयन्त्या सह ततो विजहारामरीचम् ।

जमदग्नीष्यं च ततो दमयन्त्यां महात्मना ।

दृष्ट्वेति द्रुतं पापि दृष्ट्वेनां च कन्यकाम् ।—Gd. MBh. III, 57, 46.

² Kumb. MBh. III, 114, 24.

Mahābhārata¹. But there Maudgalya, instead of Mudgala, appears to be the name of her husband². But the reading 'Maudgalya' can be pronounced to be corrupt on the authority of the R̥gveda which calls Indrasenā, Mudgalānī. Besides, the reading in one place of the Mahābhārata is in agreement with the R̥gveda. Accordingly we take Indrasenā, the daughter of Nala, to have been the wife of Mudgala Bhārmyaśva.³

¹ Kumb. MBh. I, 212, 23.

² Kumb. MBh. I, 212, 4.

³ A friend of mine points out to me that Dr. Venkatasubbiah arrived at a similar result which he published in the Indian Antiquary, 1918, p. 280. As for myself I may state that I knew nothing of this, and I relate here the whole history of my discovery of the fact that Naiṣadha Nala was the father-in-law of the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Mudgala. I have been engaged in correctly adjusting the defective and incomplete genealogies of the Purāṇas for about the last ten years. It was as a result of this adjustment of various dynasties from Manu Vaivasvata downwards that I found sometimes in March 1913 that the position of the Ikṣvāku king R̥tuparna was just a step above that of Mudgala. This led me to suspect that Mudgala might be the son-in-law of Nala, the king of Nīṣadha, as I already knew that Indrasenā was called Mudgalānī in the R̥gveda and that Nala's daughter was called Indrasenā in the Mahābhārata. I searched for any statement in our vast ancient literature for Nala's daughter having been called Mudgala's wife, and found after a year's search (sometime during the summer vacation of 1919) that in the Vāṅgavasi edition of the Mahābhārata, Indrasenā Nārāyaṇī has been called the wife of Mudgala. My suspicion became stronger, as in Sanskrit, Nala, Naḍa, and Nara were interchangeable. Sometime after the reopening of the College in August 1919, I informed my learned colleagues Professor Vanamali Vedaṅkata-tīrtha, M.A., and Professor Surendralal Kundu, M.A., that I strongly suspected that Indrasenā Mudgalānī of the R̥gveda was most probably the same Indrasenā as the daughter of Nala, for, I told them that I found Indrasenā, spoken of as Nārāyaṇī in the Vanaparvan of the Vāṅgavasi edition of the Mahābhārata, and that Nara, Nala, Naḍa were interchangeable, and that the relative position of R̥tuparna and Mudgala on my genealogical table was strongly in favour of this inference. At that time, I possessed no copy of the Kumbakonam edition of the Mahābhārata and I asked Vanamali Babu to see if in his Kumbakonam edition, the reading was 'Nārāyaṇī' instead of the Vāṅgavasi reading 'Nārāyaṇī'. After about an hour, Vanamali Babu sent his servant to me with a slip of paper in which he wrote, "आपणाद अनुमान नर नर नरा ।"

The parallelism drawn by Lōmaśa is an exact one, inasmuch as both Indrasenā and Śāntā were the daughters of kings and wives of R̥sis. Like her father Nala, the daughter was an expert in driving chariots, and this she did, as related in the R̥gveda, when her husband fought the Dasyus and made captures of cows. Thus we see that it is not necessary to pounce upon Bhīmaratha, the Yadu King, as the father of Damayantī, as Mr. Pargiter has done. This necessarily demolishes the Ikāvāku genealogy of Mr. Pargiter who has raised R̥tuparṇa up to a step below Bhīmaratha.

Now in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, Vadhryaśva is spoken of as Vadhryaśva Ānūpa¹. The same Vadhryaśva is probably meant, and Ānūpa was very probably the surname of Mudgala or an ancestor of his. Or Vadhryaśva, the son of Mudgala belonged to the Ānūpa country. In the R̥gveda we get more information about Vadhryaśva. We find that his son Sumitra composed² prayers to the fire named after his father Vadhryaśva. Vadhryaśva's fire is also mentioned in several R̥ks³ of the same hymn. In addition to Sumitra who became a R̥si, Vadhryaśva had other children.

He had, by Menakā, a son named Divōdāsa and a daughter named Ahalyā⁴. The R̥gveda supports the Purāṇas in an admirable way. In the R̥gveda we find Bharadvāja addressing

कुम्भवीर्य महाभारते नाशायनी आके । आपनि वषाये आपिस्कार करिमाके ॥⁵
I write all this in detail in order that posterity may not deny me the credit of not only independently finding out but also of actually predicting the long forgotten relationship between Nakṣadha Nala and Mudgala.

¹ एतेन ये हव्यं य आन ३; वज्रां भूयानमायुत ॥—Panc. Bra. X/II, 3, 17.

² अवा सु नो वामादीत सोवा वा ता तदीहभित्तिर्न जामा ।

यद् दन इत्युच्यते; इति; य नु सोच वामादय नाम ॥—Rv. X, 69, 5.

³ Rv. X, 69, 1; 2; 4; 5; 9; 11; 12; &c.

⁴ वामादित्युन जर्म निमकायामिति सु ति ।

दिशोदायव राजर्षि रक्ष्मा व इत्यस्मिन् ॥—Va. 99, 200; cf. Hv. I, 32, 70;
cf. Va. IV, 19, 16.

the river Sarasvatī thus¹ : "This goddess Sarasvatī gave to Vadhryaśva the impetuous son Divōdāsa, who has cleared the debts" (i.e. debts to the Devas, the Pitṛs and the Ṛsis).

Now we shall proceed to show that Divōdāsa, the brother of Ahalyā, of the Puranas is the famous Atithigva Divōdāsa of the Vedas.

In the Rgveda we find Bharadvāja calling himself the son of Vājini² ; and the same Bharadvāja, we know, was the son of Mamatā³ Bhārgavī⁴. Vājini was an appellation of Mamatā.

In the same hymn where he introduces himself as the son of Vājini, Bharadvāja says⁵, "Oh Indra, thou art the slayer of enemies ; thou hast done praiseworthy deeds ; for oh hero, thou hast rent asunder hundreds and thousands of Śambara's soldiers ; thou hast killed Śambara who came out of the mountains, and hast saved Divōdāsa with wonderful means of safety". Bharadvāja mentions the same incident viz. the killing of Śambara by Atithigva Divōdāsa in various other places⁶.

His son was Garga⁷ who received presents from Atithigva Divōdāsa, and from Prastōka, the son⁸ of Śrūjaya. Garga

¹ इत्यमरदाहमथ वृषस्पृतं दिवोदासं रभाद्याय दादधे ।

या त्वयन्तमाचखादावसे पथिं ता ते दादधेति तद्विधा सरस्वति ॥—Rv. VI, 61, 1.

² तां वाजीं दधने वाजिनेषो यद्वो वाजस्य वाजस्य साती ।

तां हवो विवन्द सत्पतिं तद्वत् तां चर्षं सुदिदा गोषु वृष्यन् ॥—Rv. VI, 26, 2.

³ कवीजातं कुमारं तं रहाय समतामवोत् ।

ममिषामि सध्वं स' वै भरं दानं वृद्धस्य ॥—Va. 99, 149.

⁴ शशीद्वयश्रुभार्या तु यमता नाम भार्गवी ॥—Br. Dv. IV, 11.

⁵ त' तद्वृक्षमिन्दं वरुणा क' प्रयच्छता सध्वसा गूरं दधि ।

अथ निरिदोसं बभूव' दन् प्रावी दिवोदासं विवाभिकती ॥—Rv. VI, 26, 5.

⁶ Rv. VI, 26, 3 ; Rv. VI, 43.

⁷ भरद्वाजप्रत्ययं यमोदायार्थम् ।—Rv. Say. Kram. VI, 47.

⁸ वाक् स' यक्ष प्रक्षीकस्तं दानमनुति, ।—Rv. Say. Kram. VI, 47.

प्रक्षीकं दद्यादाकृतम्, अक्षयप्रत्ययं दानम्, ।—Rv. Say. Kram. VI, 47.

प्रक्षयवतीं वायमानः, प्रक्षीकश्चैव सार्धं च ।

आजसगुर्भरदानं जितौ वारविष्णोर्गुर्वि ॥—Br. Dv. V, 124.

Bhāradvāja says,¹ "Oh Indra, Prastōka has given me ten gold purses and ten horses; what Atithigva won by defeating Śambara we have received (that) from Divōdāsa". This shows that Garga, Atithigva Divōdāsa and Prastōka, the son of Śrījaya, were contemporaries; it further shows that Garga was the son of no other Bhāradvāja than Vājineya Bhāradvāja, as both of them mention the killing of Śambara by Atithigva Divōdāsa from whom Garga received presents; it further shows that Prastōka, the son of Mudgala's second brother (i.e. Śrījaya), could be an older contemporary only of Vadhryaśva's son Divōdāsa; and we have just now seen that Prastōka Śārījaya was the contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa, the slayer of Śambara. It necessarily follows that Vadhryaśva's son Divōdāsa and Atithigva Divōdāsa were one and the same person.

There is a second reason for arriving at this conclusion. We have seen before that Bhāradvāja, the author of the 61st hymn of Mandala VI, speaks of Divōdāsa as the impetuous son of Vadhryaśva, and says that Sarasvatī has been pleased to favour Vadhryaśva with such a son. We have seen again that Vājineya Bhāradvāja speaks of Divōdāsa as the killer of Śambara in the 5th Rk of 26th hymn of Mandala VI. We have seen further that Garga, the son of Vājineya Bhāradvāja, received presents from Divōdāsa. It follows from these three data that the authors of the 61st hymn and of the 26th hymn were one and the same person namely Vājineya Bhāradvāja; the contrary supposition that these were two Bhāradvājas and two Divōdāsas, and that the first Bhāradvāja was a contemporary of the first Divōdāsa and the second Bhāradvāja was a contemporary of the second Divōdāsa, —seems to be at present uncalled for. Hence it may be admitted that Vadhryaśva's son Divōdāsa of the Puranas was the famous Divōdāsa of the Vedas.

¹ प्रस्तोकं वदुः पाशवस्तु वदुः दमकीमयीर्दंशुः शलिनीरिवात् ।

हिमालयावद्विजिह्वस्तु पाशः शाल्यं वदुः पाशवपीकः ॥—Rv. VI, 47, 22.

There is still a third ground on which such a conclusion becomes inevitable. The simultaneous occurrence of Bhṛm̐yaśva, Mudgala, Indrasenā, Vadhryaśva, Divēdāsa &c. both in the Puranas as well as in the Ṛgveda cannot be called a chance coincidence, especially when their relationships to each other coincide in both. The Puranas give us the information that Mudgala's son by Indrasenā was Vadhryaśva, which the Ṛgveda has not supplied; but the Ṛgveda informs us that Śrījaya's son was Prastōka, and Vadhryaśva had another son Sumitra in addition to Divēdāsa. Accordingly we conclude that the Pāñcāla Divēdāsa of the Puranas was the same as the famous Atithigva Divēdās of the Vedas.

Now the Puranic statement that Bhṛm̐yaśva was the father of Śrījaya¹ as well as of Mudgala cannot be accepted. We have found that Prastōka was the son of Śrījaya², and Garga, the son of Bharadvāja Vājineya, received presents both from Atithigva Divēdāsa and Prastōka³ [Prastōka and Divēdāsa were different persons—*vide* the chapter on the Northern Pāñcālas]. We observe that Śrījaya was the son of Devavāta⁴, and that Devavāta and Devaśravas were the two descendants (or more probably sons) of a certain Bharata⁵. We find again Bharadvāja declaring that Abhyāsvartin, the son of Cayamāna, defeated and killed the Ycivants, the sons of Varaśikha, in fight on the east bank of the river Hari-

¹ Ya. 99, 196.

² शास्त्रं पुरा प्रस्तोकस्य दानमुदि, 1—Rv. Say. Kram. VI, 47.

प्रस्तोक इत्यावाचनम्; सङ्गच्छयस्य राज्ञः, 1—Rv. Say. Kram. VI, 47.

अभ्यस्वर्तो यापमानः प्रस्तोकश्चैव शास्त्रं वः ।

आत्मन्मुर्धरदामं गितौ शरिण्येयुर्वि ॥—Br. Br. V, 124.

³ प्रस्तोक इवु राधवज्ज दृष्ट दृष्ट कोपयोर्द्वेय शान्तिददाद् ।

दिवोदासादतिथिगवा राज्ञः यावत् वसु प्रत्ययतोष ॥—Rv. VI, 47, 22.

⁴ यश्च वः सृजते इरी देववते रुगिषते । सुमौ शमिद्वर्धनः, 1—Rv. IV, 15, 4.

यस्य मातावत्सवा नृयमसु अन्तरं पु वरतो रेरिद्वत्सवा ।

य सृजमाय सुवर्ध परादाद् जीवतो देवताय शिष्टम् ॥—Rv. VI, 27, 7.

⁵ भरतस्य इषी देववता देवतावत्सवा भावस्य ऋषी ।—Say. Kram. Rv. III, 23.

yūpiyā¹. We also find there that a Turvaśa and the Vrcivants, the sons of Vāśīkha, submitted to Śrījaya, the son of Devavāta². Bharadvāja further declares that emperor Abhyāvartin, the son of Cāyamāna and descendant of Pṛthu, gave him chariots women and cows³. In the Bṛhaddevatā, we find that Abhyāvartin, the son of Cāyamāna, and Prastōka, the son of Śrījaya, being defeated by the Vāśīkhas in fight, approached (Vājineya) Bharadvāja who thereupon ordered his son Pāyu to perform sacrifices for the two kings; after the sacrifices, these two kings marched against the Vāśīkhas and defeated them on the bank of the river Haryupīyā⁴.

From all these the following conclusions may be drawn :—

- (i) Śrījaya, the father of Prastōka, was the son of Devavāta.
- (ii) Devavāta as well as Devaśrayas were the sons of Bharata who must be distinguished from Bharata Daśmanti.
- (iii) Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna, who was an ally of Prastōka, the son of Śrījaya, was a descendant of Devavāta.⁵
- (iv) Trkṣa was the father of Bhṛmyaśva as stated in the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.⁶
- (v) Cāyamāna's son Abhyāvartin, Śrījaya's son Prastōka and Vadhryaśva's son Divōdāsa were contemporaries and friends and belonged to the same family.

¹ इतीदिन्तो वरविष्वाका येषीदशान्वरिणे वायमानाय भिक्षन् ।

इतीदिन्तो वरविष्वाकायां हन्तुं पूर्वं यत्र भिक्षका गतो हन्तुं ॥ —Rv. VI, 27, 5.

² यस्मा गावावधवा भूमवन्तु अन्तरं यं वरतो रोदिष्वाका
तु वृक्षवायं तुर्वेयं वरावाद् वीरतो वैश्वानाय भिक्षन् । —Rv. VI, 27, 7.

³ इतो यत्र रयितो विपतिं वा यधुपतो लब्धवा सङ्गं वराह ।

अन्तरावर्तो वायमानो वरावि &c. &c. ॥ —Rv. VI, 27, 8.

Cl. also यथा वरदाजी इतो तस्मिं प्रसीते च वराहं ते वपिं वसान—Samkh. Brāh. XVI, 11, 11.

⁴ Br. Dr. V, 124-133.

⁵ Rv. VI, 27, 7.

⁶ Aśv. Śrau. II. 6.

- (vi) Mudgala's son Vadhryaśva, Devavāta's son
Sṛñjaya and Cayamāna were contemporaries.
(vii) Bhṛmyaśva's son Mudgala, Bharata's sons Deva-
vāta and Devaśravas were contemporaries.
(viii) Bharata and Trkṣa's son Bhṛmyaśva were con-
temporaries.

The genealogy may then stand thus :—



There is no ground for holding Devavāta and Bhṛmyaśva to be one and the same person, as Mr. Pargiter¹ has done, because Devavāta and Devaśravas have been explicitly stated to have been the sons of Bharata, whereas Bhṛmyaśva was the son of Trkṣa.

We have seen before that Divōdāsa had a sister, the famous Ahalyā who was given in marriage to Śaradvant Gau-
tama². Rāma Dāśarathī on his way to Mithilā with a Viśvā-
mitra went to the hermitage of Gautama and accepted³ the

¹ JRAS, 1910.

² Va. 99, 201 ; 202 ; Hv. I, 32, 71 ; Mt. 15, 8 ; Va. IV, 19, 16 ;
Bh. IX, 21, 34.

³ राजसी तु तदा उवाच पादौ जगद्वरुणैः ।

जदसौ गौतमस्य; प्रतिजगदहं वा हि तौ ॥

राजसस्ये तदातिथेः सकारं सुतमादिता ।

प्रतिजगदहं वाकुल्यो विविचरं न कर्मणा । N. Ram. I, 49, 17 ; 18.

बहुधा वापसिर्तुं तां पादद्वयोश्च बलतुः—Bīm. 123, 100.

hospitality of Ahalyā. 'She was the mother of Śatānanda who was the officiating priest' of Śiradhvaja Janaka. She committed adultery with a certain person, and for this, was temporarily divorced by her husband. Śaradvant Gautama ordained that she should expiate what she had done, by performing suitable penances² and that she might be accepted back if Rāma Dāśarathi would come to her and receive her hospitality³. It is easy to understand the reason of the introduction of Indra,⁴ the Vedic God, into this ancient history.

The Ṛsis of the Vedic age were in the habit of ascribing various deeds to their gods Indra, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, the Maruts. For example, the famous Pāṇcāla king Divōdāsa destroyed the ninety-nine towns of the Dāsa chief Śambara and killed Śambara and Varcī in the country of Udabraja. The Vedic Ṛsis used to ascribe these heroic deeds to the Vedic God Indra by saying⁵ that Indra rent the ninety-nine cities of Śambara for Divōdāsa and "saved Divōdāsa with wonderful means of safety". It was the famous king Purukutsa of the Ikṣvāku race, who destroyed the seven strongly fortified cities of the Dāsa chief Śarad. The Vedic Ṛsis used to say⁶ "Oh Indra, thou hast destroyed the seven cities of Śarad for

अनर्हसमाचरेत्तैव अदत्ताभवात् अकार ।—Vg. IV, 4, 42.

सूरा नारादयोनापि भूमीं लोभे हनन्त्यः ।

कदाचिदात्मकैश्च वीरैश्चक्रुस्ततः ॥—Sv. VI, 11, 15.

अदत्ता एतानामस्य पादसर्गांश्चुभामभत् ।—Pm. Uttara, 242, 136.

¹ विद्यापिबन्धुमारं सुता नृपवरसदा ।

एतानन्व' अरक्तुश्च प्ररोहितमनिनितः ॥—N. Ram. I, 50, 6.

² सतमन्त्रा निराधारा तथन्तो मन्त्रमाविनी ।

अदत्ता अर्हसूतानामाचरेत्किन्वपि ॥—N. Ram. I, 48, 30.

³ कदा लोकेह वनं चीरं रामो दधरधात्मजः ।

आगमिष्यति दुर्द्वयं कदा पूता भविष्यति ॥—N. Ram. I, 45, 30.

⁴ Sat. Bra. III, 3, 4, 18; Sady. Bra. I, 4; Taitt. Ar. I, 12, 4, 1; N. Ram. I, 48, ch.; Jaim. Brh. II, 79;—Vedic Index.

⁵ Rv. VI, 26, 5; 20, 3; 31, 4; 43, 1; 47, 2; 21; IV, 26, 3; 30, 14; 30, 20; II, 19, 6; 14, 6; I, 51, 6; X, 49, 8. VII, 99, 5; I, 54, 6; &c.

⁶ Rv. I, 63, 7; I, 174, 2; VI, 20, 10; X, 49, 8.

Purukutsa". It was the R̥ṣi Namī Sāpyā ("Vaidēhō Rājā") who killed the Dāsa chief Namuci.¹ The Vedic R̥ṣis have recorded this by saying² that Indra could kill Namuci with the help of the R̥ṣi Namī. It was Kavi, the son of Bhṛgu, who killed the Dāsa chief Atka in battle. The Vedic R̥ṣi says³ that Indra killed Atka for Kavi. It was Turvasu and Yadu, the two sons of Yayāti Nāhu a, who killed the Dāsa chief Abnavāhya in a great battle. The Vedic R̥ṣi says⁴ "Knowing the actions of Yadu and Turvasu to be true, Indra, for them, laid down Abnavāhya in battle". The famous R̥gvedic R̥ṣi and fighter Kutsa killed the Dāsa chiefs Śuṣṇa, Asuya and Kuyava. The Vedic R̥ṣis used to ascribe this heroic deed to Indra by saying⁵ "Oh Indra, thou hast killed Śuṣṇa, Asuya and Kuyava for Kutsa". [I find that none of my predecessors have understood the real nature of Śuṣṇa, Asuya and Kuyava and have tried to explain them away allegorically. I shall deal with them at a greater length when I shall take up the early Vedic Age in future, and prove that they were historical personages.] The famous R̥gvedic R̥ṣi and king, R̥jīvan, the son of Vidathin Bharadvāja, killed the Dāsa chief Pīpu in a battle. The Vedic R̥ṣi says⁶ that Indra killed Pīpu by making friends with R̥jīvan Vaidathina. Thus it will be realised that the R̥ṣis of the Vedic Age were in the habit of ascribing heroic deeds to Indra. Why did they use to do that? Because they sincerely believed that these deeds were possible only through the favour of that mighty godhead. It was a question of belief pure and simple. Thus Indra was believed to have been born into this world as Menā, the daughter of the

¹ Many have tried to explain away Namuci allegorically without understanding his real nature.

² Rv. I, 53, 7 ; VI, 20, 6 ; Panc. Br. XXV, 10, 17.

³ Rv. X, 49, 3 ; 99, 3.

⁴ Rv. VIII, 45, 27.

⁵ Rv. II, 19, 6 ; IV, 16, 9-12 ; IV, 30, 13 ; II, 14, 5 ; VI, 20, 4-5 ; I, 121, 9 ; I, 33, 12 ; 14 ; I, 51, 6 ; II, 1, 101, 2 ; I, 103, 8 ; I, 104, 3 ; I, 49, 3 ;

⁶ Rv. X, 138, 3 ; 99, 11 ;

king Vṛṣaṇaśva.¹ Indra was believed to have been born into this world as Gāthīn, the son of Kuśika.² The Aśvins were believed to have effected a cure of Viśpalā, the lame wife of the king Khela whose priest was Agastya³. The Maruts were believed to have helped Śyāvāśva Ārcanānasa in composing R̥gvedic hymns⁴. The Aśvins were believed to have bestowed youthful vigour on Cyavana Bhārgava, and to have effected marvellous cures of various diseases of various persons⁵ (Consult the compositions of the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Kākṣivānt and others). Ātreyī Apālā was made beautiful by the Vedic God Indra who was believed to have passed her through the carriage aperture⁶. Ghōṣā, the daughter of Kākṣivānt was cured of leucoderma by the Aśvins who were believed to have effected this cure by entering her organ⁷. It will thus be perceived how very various and curious acts were believed by the Vedic R̥ṣis to have been performed by the Vedic gods. Similarly, Indra was believed to have become a lamb for carrying the R̥ṣi Medhātithi Kāpyāyana to heaven,⁸ to have been born as Menā, the daughter of the king Vṛṣaṇaśva,⁹ and to have become the secret lover of Ahalyā,¹⁰ as recorded in the R̥gveda, and Vedic works like the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Śaṅkhayāna Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and so forth.

¹ Rv. I, 51, 13 ;

² Rv. I, 10, 11.

³ Rv. I, 116, 15 ; I, 117, 11 ; X, 39, 8.

⁴ Rv. V, 61 ; Br. Dv. V, 50-81 ; Nīṭimanjari, Sadgurusīya, Sayana on Rv. V, 61 ;

⁵ Rv. I, 116, 10 ; 15 ; 16 ; 22 ; 23 ; I, 117, 7 ; 8 ; 11 ; 13 ; 17 ; 19 ; 24 ; X, 39, 4.

⁶ Rv. VIII, 91, 3 ; 4 ; Br. Dv. VI, 99-106 ; Nīṭimanjari, Sadgurusīya, Sayana on Rv. VIII, 91 ;

⁷ Rv. I, 117, 7 ; X, 39, 3 ; 5 ; 6 ; X, 40, 11 ; Br. Dv. VII, 42-43 ; Nīṭimanjari, on Rv. I, 117, 7 ;

⁸ Rv. VII, 2, 40 ; I, 51, 1 ; Sat. Bra. III, 3, 4, 18 ; Sadv. Bra. I, 1 ; Taitt. Ar. I, 12, 4, 1 ; Jaim. Bra. II, 79.

⁹ Rv. I, 51, 13 ; Sat. Bra. III, 3, 4, 18 ; Sadv. Bra. I, 1 ; Taitt. Ar. I, 12, 4, 1 ; Lat. Śraut. I, 3, 1.

¹⁰ Sat. Bra. III, 3, 4, 18 ; Sadv. Bra. I, 1 ; Jaim. Bra. II, 79, —Vedic Index.

Now because myths happen to be connected with Vṛṣaśva's daughter Menā, Vadhryaśva's daughter Ahalyā, and Kapva's son Medhātithi &c., it would be unwise to doubt their historicity, as we have just now seen that these mythologies represent the mental background of the Rṣis of the Vedic Age. In fact mythologies, it appears to me, cannot stand in the way of constructing our ancient history. I try to make my attitude clearer.

We learn from the Kathāsarit Sāgara, the Bṛhatkathā Mañjarī, and the account of Yuan-chwang that the great god Śiva residing in the Himālaya mountains, was approached by Pāṇini, the disciple of Varṣa. Being asked by Pāṇini, the god promised help and approved of his (i.e. Pāṇini's) purpose of writing a Treatise on Etymology. Pāṇini was successful in his attempt and defeated his rival Kātyāyana in a disputation which lasted for eight days through the grace of Śiva Maheśvara. No sane scholar would doubt the historicity of Pāṇini on the ground of his mythological connection with the ancient godhead Śiva. Similarly, no one can doubt the historicity of Padmapādācārya who was believed to have walked on the surface of water with his foot-steps placed on lotuses, at the bidding of his master Śrī Saṅkarācārya who was believed to be no other than Śiva. No one can doubt the historicity of Śivāji who, the Moguls believed, could jump 100 cubits with his sword in the hand through the grace of Satan, the god of Vice. Finally no one is entitled to doubt the historicity of Rājā Pratāpāditya of Yaśōhara on the ground of his mythological connection with the war-goddess Kālī who, the people believed, used to lead the forces of the Rājā and talked with him when finally bidding adieu to him. Similarly no one is entitled to doubt the historicity of Vadhryaśva's daughter Ahalyā on the ground of her mythological connection with the Vedic god Indra, and it is pitiful to find Bhaṭṭa Kumārila trying to explain away this real history about Ahalyā with allegory¹ at the sacrifice of Vedic history.

¹ Tantr. Vart. I. 3. 4 (a). Śiddhanta on Sutra (7).

Now the tradition about Ahalyā having been visited by Rāma Dāśarathī, is a most important event that supplies us with the synchronism between Aikṣvāka Daśaratha and Atithigva Divōdāsa—a synchronism so essential for the rational construction of India's ancient history. When Śrī-Rāmacandra, the descendant of Manu Vaivasvata, and the heir to one of the most famous Aryan dynasties, came to the hermitage of Gautama and accepted the hospitality of Ahalyā, all her social blame was considered to be removed, and Gautama accepted her back as his wife. This shows how the stricter conception of chastity had not yet dawned upon the Aryan society.

There is a second reason for the synchronism between Daśaratha and Divōdāsa. In the Rāmāyana we find¹ that Daśaratha together with other Rājaraṣas proceeded towards the south to fight against Śambara who used to live in a city named Vaijayanta, the capital of Śambara's territory, lying adjacent to the forest of Daṇḍaka. Once during the progress of the battle which seems to have lasted for several weeks, the soldiers of Śambara made a night-attack on, and killed many of, the Aryan soldiers, by forcibly throwing them out of their beds on which the latter were sleeping after being wounded and tired in their day's fight. In that nocturnal fight the

¹ पुरा देवासुरै युद्धं सह राजर्षिभिः पतिः ।

ग्रामेभ्यः ताम्रपादाय देवराजस्य बाह्वलिम् ॥

दिशनाश्रय केकेषु दक्षिणां दक्षकां प्रति ।

देवराजस्यैव स्यात् पुरं यच्च तिमिरजलः ॥

स मन्दर इति ख्यतः, कलमयो महासुरः ।

ददौ शक्रस्य स'ग्रामं देवसर्पैरनुश्रितः ॥

तस्मिन् मरुति संधायै वृक्षान् सतविचकार ।

राज्ञी प्रसूताम् वृत्ति क्त्वा तरसापासा राक्षसाः ॥

तत्राकरोत् महायुधं राजा दहरयन्तवा ।

असुरेषु महानाहुः सज्जैश्च शक्रवीरिणः ॥

अवनाश लया दिवि संघातान् नष्टयेतनः ।

तथापि विद्धतः, सज्जैः पतिषु रक्षितस्तथा ॥—N. Ram. II, 9, 11-15.

Aryans were almost ousted but for Daśaratha who fiercely engaged the soldiers of Śambara with the result that the King of Ayōdhyā received several wounds on his body and lay unconscious in his chariot which was being driven by his wife Kaikeyī. She saved her husband's life by driving the chariot out of the battle-field. Daśaratha promised Kaikeyī two boons which were the ultimate causes of the exile of Rāma. Mark the word "राजर्षिः" in the 11th śloka referred to and mark also the appellation "राजर्षि" which the Puranas have always given to Atithigva Divōdāsa¹, and remember that Abhyāvartin, Prastōka and Divōdāsa were contemporaries and belonged to the same family. Consider again the evidence of the Brahma Purana² from which we learn that when Daśaratha the great Ikṣvāku King ruled in Ayōdhyā there was a great battle between the Devas and Dānavas for the possession of kingdoms in this country. Daśaratha was invited to fight on the side of the Devas. The Dānavas who were the kinsmen of Namuci, shot with sharp arrows the axle of Daśaratha's chariot which was driven by his wife Kaikeyī, although the axle was broken by the shooting of enemy's arrows. The Rāmāyana seems to preserve some historical truth when it says that the enemy's personal name was Timidhvaja and that he was titled as Śambara,³ so that his full name was Timidhvaja Śambara. The Rgveda gives us the name of his ancestor as Kulitara.⁴ Pradyumna, the son of Śrīkṛṣṇa, killed another Śambara whose full name was Kāla-Śambara.⁵ It appears from all this that in the great war, in which ninety-nine towns of Timidhvaja Śambara, the descendant of Kulitara, were destroyed and the hundredth town taken by storm, Daśaratha Ajaya was invited by, and became the ally of Atithigva Divōdāsa.

¹ Va. 99, 200.

² Brm. 123, 7-17 : 19 : 24 : 27.

³ N. Ram. II, 2, 12 : 13.

⁴ Rv. IV, 30, 14.

⁵ Hv. II, 103, 1 : Hv. II, 109, 1 : Hv. II, 104, 3 : Hv. II, 104, 41 : Gd. Mṛh. 14, 26.

Consider, thirdly, the ancient tradition preserved in the *Siva P.* (VI, 13) which informs¹ us that Maya's two daughters Māyavatī and Mandōdarī were given in marriage to Śambara and Rāvaṇa respectively. The over-libidinous king of Laṅkā, who forcibly polluted Vedavatī Āngirasi and many other girls and who was finally killed for attempting the same on Sītā, tried once to take off the bride of Śambara (i.e. his wife's sister) with the result that he with his companions Prahasta &c. were captured in the streets of Śambara's capital by soldiers and guards clad in iron-armor and afterwards released by his powerful brother-in-law Śambara on the request of Maya who was the father-in-law of both.

This adds another evidence to our synchronism between Daśaratha and Atithigva Divōdāsa, Śambara and Rāvaṇa being the connecting links.

There is yet a fourth ground for this synchronism between Daśaratha and Divōdāsa, the Yajamāna of Bharadvāja Vājineya; for we find that Rāma Dāsarathi on his way back from Laṅkā repaired to the hermitage of Bharadvāja who received him hospitably².

The fifth ground for the same synchronism is afforded by the fact that Ahalyā's son Satānanda was the officiating priest of Śiradhvāja Janaka.³ Accordingly we conclude that Aikṣvāka Daśaratha was a contemporary of Pāñcāla Divōdāsa who is well known as Atithigva Divōdāsa in the Vedas, and who probably ruled also over the Kingdom of Kāśī as we shall see in the next chapter.

¹ Sv. VI, 13, 10; 20; 23; 24; 25; 26.

² Va. 45, 114; N. Ram. VI, 124, 1.

³ N. Ram. I, 50, 6.

CHAPTER II.

KINGS OF OTHER DYNASTIES, CONTEMPORARY OF DIVŌDĀSA.

Now we take up the line that sprang from Ajamīdha by his wife Dhāminī. After Ajamīdha, we have successively Bṛhadiṣu¹, Bṛhadvasu², Bṛhadviṣṇu³, Bṛhanmanas⁴, Bṛhaddhanu⁵, Bṛhatkarman⁶ (Bṛhatkāya), Jayadratha⁷, Viśvajit⁸, and Senajit⁹; so that Senajit of the Southern Pāṇḍala dynasty was the ninth in descent from Ajamīdha and we have already seen that Divōdāsa also was a descendant of Ajamīdha in the ninth degree. Hence the Southern Pāṇḍala King Senajit was a contemporary of the northern Pāṇḍala Divōdāsa.

Experience shows that when the succession is collateral synchronisms do not generally break in seven or eight generations. Hence Senajit may be taken to have been a contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa, younger or older. This is also proved by the number of kings that follow him (Senajit) down to the age of the Mahābhārata. Again, it is stated in the Puranas that when very advanced in years Dhāminī had her son Rkṣa¹⁰ who being the youngest of all was kept by Ajamīdha at Hastināpura. His son Sambarapa reigned for a number of years at Hastināpura, and in a war with a Pāṇḍala king, fled from his kingdom¹¹, spent a number of years on the banks of the Indus, married a girl named

¹ Vs. IV, 19, 11; Bh. IX, 21, 22.

² Vs. IV, 19, 11; Va. 99, 170.

³ Va. 99, 171.

⁴ Mt. 49, 48.

⁵ Bh. IX, 21, 22; Mt. 49, 48.

⁶ Vs. IV, 19, 11; Va. 99, 171; Bh. IX, 21, 22.

⁷ Vs. IV, 19, 11; Va. 99, 171; Bh. IX, 21, 22; Mt. 49, 49.

⁸ Vs. IV, 19, 11; Va. 99, 172; Bh. IX, 21, 23; Mt. 49, 49.

⁹ Vs. IV, 19, 11; Va. 99, 173; Bh. IX, 21, 23; Mt. 49, 49.

¹⁰ Va. 99, 211; 212; 213; 214.

¹¹ Od. MBh. I, 94, 38; 39; 40; &c.

Tapatī Vaivasvatī (the daughter of a Rājā named Virasvant) and at last recovered possession of his kingdom of Hastināpura with the help of a certain seer Vasistha.

This war of Sambarāṇa, the son of Rkṣa against the Pāṇḍava king seems to refer to the battle of ten kings, as the Bhāratas are herein described to have been put to a great distress and fled to a part of the Punjab. Hence Sambarāṇa's son Kuru,¹ by Tapatī Vaivasvatī, ranks four steps below Ajāmīdha. Kuru therefore was a contemporary of Purujānu, the father of Tṛkṣa. Kuru had a son named Avikṣit by Vāhinī² and this Avikṣit's son was Parikṣit³. Parikṣit again had a son named Janamejaya.⁴ Janamejaya's son is named Śuratha⁵ in many of the Puranas but the Agni Purana calls him Trasadasyu⁶. Śuratha-Trasadasyu thus becomes the contemporary of Vadhryāśva, the father of Atithigva Divōdāsa.

From Jahnu, another descendant of Kuru, sprang the main Hastināpura line that had begun with Rkṣa, the father of Sambarāṇa. We know that according to the most Puranas, Kuru had four beloved sons⁷ namely Sudhanvan, Jahnu, Parikṣit and Arimardana. But the earlier and therefore the more creditable account in the Mahābhārata says⁸ that Kuru had five sons by his wife Vāhinī namely Āsvavant-Avikṣit⁹, Abhiśyanta, Caitraratha, Muni and Janamejaya.

We have also seen that Parikṣit was the son of Avikṣit¹⁰. Parikṣit thus becomes not the son but the grand-son of Kuru. Accordingly Jahnu, Sudhanvan and Arimardana may be considered as the grandsons of Kuru. Jahnu had Śuratha, and the latter had Viduratha as his son¹¹. The similar sounding names Śuratha, Viduratha indicate that Caitraratha might be the grand-father of Śuratha and that the full name of

¹ Gd. MBh. I, 94, 48. ² Gd. MBh. I, 94, 51. ³ Gd. MBh. I, 94, 52

⁴ Gd. MBh. I, 94, 53; Va. 99, 229; Ag. 278, 31.

⁵ Va. 99, 229.

⁶ Ag. 278, 31.

⁷ Va. 99, 217; 218.

⁸ Gd. MBh. I, 94, 50; 51.

⁹ Nilakantha in the commentary.

¹⁰ Gd. MBh. I, 94, 52.

¹¹ Va. 99, 230.

Jahnu might be Jalīnuratha. Instances of similar-sounding names of successive kings of the same dynasty are not rare in India. The case of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra of the Śuṅga dynasty is a parallel. There are other instances.

Hence Kuru's son Caitraratha by Vāhinī is tentatively assumed to be the father of Jahnu (-ratha?). Jahnu's grandson Viduratha thus becomes the contemporary of Vadhryaśva. Viduratha had a son named Sārvabhauma¹ who became the king and who accordingly was the contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa. Now, in addition to Sārvabhauma, Viduratha had two other sons whom most of the Purāṇas have forgotten. These two other sons of Viduratha were Ṛkṣa and Bharadvāja as stated in the *Brahma*². Both Ṛkṣa and Bharadvāja entered the order of Āṅgīrasa teachers and have left 'pravaras' behind them, as stated in the *Matsya*³. Ajamidha⁴, Mudgala⁵, Priyamedha became Āṅgīrasa teachers while Vadhryaśva⁶ and his son Divōdāsā⁷ of the same family entered the Bhārgava order perhaps after their retirement from the world.

Now the cyclopedic *Mahābhārata* says⁸ that because the son of Viduratha of the dynasty of Puru, was brought up by bears (Ṛkṣas) in the Ṛkṣavant mountain, therefore he was named Ṛkṣa. Thus it is found that Viduratha's son was a second Ṛkṣa. It was this second Ṛkṣa who was a contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa. Ajamidha's son will be called Ṛkṣa I and Viduratha's son, Ṛkṣa II. It may be noted in this connection that the real name of Bhārgava Vālmīki, the author of *Rāmāyaṇa*, was Ṛkṣa⁹. Mr. Pargiter¹⁰ has supposed, not unreasonably, that Ṛkṣa I, the father of Sambarāṇa, was a contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa and has created a gap between Ajamidha and his youngest son Ṛkṣa I. He has created yet another gap between Ṛkṣa I and his son

¹ Va. 99, 231.

² Brm. 13, 111; 112.

³ Mt. 196, 49.

⁴ Mt. 196, 46.

⁵ Mt. 196, 41.

⁶ Mt. 196, 42.

⁷ Mt. 196, 42.

⁸ Gd. MBh. XII, 49, 76; Kumb. MBh. XII, 48, 82.

⁹ Km. I, 51, 8 & ; Va. III, 3, 17; 18.

¹⁰ JRAS, 1910.

Sambarana under the impression that Sudās Paijavana fought Sambarana. It will be clear afterwards that Mr. Pargiter's adjustment of the Ikṣvāku dynasty cannot stand, and as all the dynasties are intimately connected with one another, his adjustment of the Pauravas is defective.

According to the Purans, there was yet another Rkṣa in the Paurava line ruling at Hastināpura. He was¹ the son of Devātithi, and the father of Bhimasena and hence is much below in the genealogical list; we call him Rkṣa III. Thus in the main Hastināpura line we have two Rkṣas namely Rkṣa I, the father of Sambarana, and Rkṣa III; while Rkṣa II probably established a principality somewhere else, and ultimately became an Āṅgīrasa teacher, as we have seen before. This does not clash with the statement² in the Harivaṃśa that there were two Rkṣas in the line of Hastināpura kings. The Harivaṃśa and the Brahma are confounded³ about Rkṣa II and Rkṣa III and omit the intermediate names between Viduratha and Rkṣa III.

We proceed with the lineal descendants of Sudhanvan, the grandson of Kuru, till we reach Kṛta who thus ranks five steps below Kuru⁴ and hence was a contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa. It is stated in the Puranas that he had to perform many sacrifices till he got a son in his old age.⁵ The name of this son was Caidya Uparicara. (He was the king of Cedi.) Hence he ranks two steps below Kṛta. It was his eldest son Brhadratha I who founded the kingdom of Magadha. Hence it is probable that at the time of Divōdāsa and Daśaratha there was no existence of the Aryan kingdom of Magadha.

Next we come to Rōmapāda, the descendant of Anu. He is mentioned as a friend and contemporary of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma. His daughter Sāntā was married to

¹ Va. 99, 233.

² Hv. I, 32, 104.

³ Brm. 13, 111-113; Hv. I, 32, 103-105.

⁴ Va. 99, 218; 219.

⁵ Va. 99, 219; 220.

Rāyaśrīga who officiated in the Horse Sacrifice of Daśa-ratha who was anxious to have a son born to him. Hence Rōmapāda was also a contemporary of Daśaratha or Atithigva Divōdāsa.

Then we come to Yādu's line and mark that Satvata's son Bhīma-Sātvata is mentioned in the Harivaṃśa as the king of the Yādavas, who reigned about the same time¹ when Rāma Dāśarathi was ruling the earth. It is also stated there that Bhīma-Sātvata's son Andhaka reigned about the same time² when Rāma's son Kuśa was ruling his kingdom. Andhaka had two sons Kukura and Bhajamāna.

Next we come to Pratardana of the Kāśī line. He is probably the same as Pratardana Daivōdāsi who is a bit higher up in the genealogical list and who is represented in the Purāṇas³ and in the Mahābhārata⁴ as the half-brother (by the same mother, Dṛṣadvatī) of Śivi, Vasumanas and Aṣṭaka. It is related in detail in Ch. 114 and the following chapters in Book V of the Mahābhārata (Gauḍa recension) how Viśvāmitra's disciple Gālava, after securing the daughter of a certain king Yayāti, (not to be confused with Yayāti Nāhusa) the king of the Kāśis⁵, gave her in marriage by turns to Haryaśva the king of Ayōdhyā, Divōdāsa the king of Kāśī, and Uśīnara a famous king of the line of Anu, and last of all to his preceptor Viśvāmitra himself. These four people produced one son each and the sons were Vasumanas, Pratardana Śivi and Aṣṭaka respectively. The same contemporaneity is attested

¹ Hv. II, 38, 38. Hv. II, 38, 39.

² Hv. II, 38, 43.

³ Va. 99, 21; Va. 88, 76; Va. 92, 64; Va. 91, 103.

⁴ अथवा वैश्वामित्रे रघुसेने सर्वं राजान् वसुधाम् ॥ १ ॥ आनन्दराजा प्रतर्दनी वसुधाम्, विजितीयोक्त इति स च वसुधाम् आनन्दः स ह रघुने प्रदाने च आनन्दवसुधाम् विजित्वा आनन्दः स च वसुधाम् ॥ २ ॥ Gd. MBh. III, 197, 1-2.

तत एव वसुधाम् वतः अथैविति च कम् ।

राजा वसुधाम् वसुधाम् वतः च वीर्यवान् ।

प्रतर्दनी विजित्वा वसुधाम् कितं संवत् ॥ — Gd. MBh. I, 36, 6

⁵ Gd. MBh. V, 115, 2.

by all the Puranas¹ which say that these four were the sons of the same mother Dr̥ṣadvatī. Thirdly, it is supported by the Sāyanānukramanī of the R̥gveda where² Śivi, Pratardana and Vasumanas are mentioned as the joint authors of one and the same hymn namely the 179th hymn of the 10th Maṇḍala just as Viśvāmitra and his nephew Jamadagni were the joint authors of III, 62 and of X, 167 hymns; or just as Nārada and his nephew Parvata were the joint authors of IX, 104-105 hymns. Fourthly, it is evident from the genealogical list that Pratardana ranks exactly the same number of steps below Manu Vaivasvata as Śivi and Aṣṭaka. (We shall take up the case of Vasumanas of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in future and prove that he too ranks exactly at the same step with Śivi, Pratardana and Aṣṭaka). Now there is given a difference of ancestry of the king Pratardana. The Puranas say that the grandfather of Pratardana was Bhīmaratha³ and that his great grandfather was Ketumant⁴; while the Mahābhārata very explicitly says that Pratardana's grandfather was Sudeva⁵, the son of Haryaśva; and that he (i.e. Pratardana) fought⁶ Vīṭahavya, a powerful king of the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas. The Mahābhārata also says⁷ that the grandfather of Pratardana was called Bhīmasena (which is evidently a variant for Bhīmaratha). Haryaśva and Sudeva were very probably also named Ketumant and Bhīmaratha respectively. Fifthly, the contemporaneity is evidenced by the Rāmāyaṇa where we find⁸ that Pratardana

¹ Va. 92, 64; Va. 88, 76; Va. 91, 103; Va. 99, 2.

² वसुमन्तस्य; शिविनोम राजा प्रतार्दना इति; ।

काशीनाम्नयति, प्रतर्दनी नाम सः सोमायः ।

ऐरिद्वयज्ञोऽसृजता नाम वृत्तीयायः, ४—Say Kram R. X, 79.

³ Hv. I, 29, 29; Hv. I, 29, 72.

⁴ Va. 92, 23; Hv. I, 29, 28; Hv. I, 32, 22.

⁵ Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 13; 15.

⁶ Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 44; 45.

⁷ Gd. MBh. V, 117, 1.

⁸ न विद्वन्मम ततो रामो वसुमन्तकुलीधरम् ।

प्रतर्दने कामयति ऐरिद्वयज्ञोऽसृजतो ॥—N. Ram. VII, 38, 15.

the brave king of Kāśī was of the same age as Rāma Dāśarathi and that he came to Ayōdhyā at the coronation of Rāma.

Sixthly, this is probably supported by the R̥gveda where we find that Vājineya Bharadvāja, who was a contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa and consequently of Dāśaratha, says, 'Oh Lord Indra, we are your friends and votaries; may we become your favourite by these prayers composed for getting riches; may Pratardana's son Kṣattraśrī, my institutor of sacrifice, become great by killing enemies and securing riches'.

It will not do objecting that the word 'Prātardani' means a distant descendant of Pratardana. That the suffix is almost invariably applied in the sense of son will be abundantly clear when we remember that Vicōcana is called Prāhlādi; Ambariṣa, Nābhugi; Aṣṭaka, Vaiśvāmitri; Ugrāyudha, Kārti; Rāma, Dāśarathi; Bharata, Daśmanti; Jahnu I, Saubōtri; Sahadeva, Jārāsandhi; Uttara, Vairāti; Jayadratha, Vārdhaksatri; Sōmaka, Sāhadevi; Atyarāti, Jānantapi; Indrajit, Rāvaṇi; Sañjaya, Gāvalgani; Ugrāśravas, Laumakarṣaṇi; Aśvatthāman, Drauṇi; Abhimanyu, Phālguni; Brhaduktha, Daivarāti. A host of other instances can be mentioned to show that the suffix is almost invariably applied to the name of a person to denote his son. It is not rational therefore to say that 'Prātardani' does not mean the son of Pratardana here.

We describe the fight between Pratardana and Vītahavya, the Haihaya. A feud between the Kāśis and the Haihayas was continuing through generations since a very early time. The Haihayas were very powerful under Arjuna Kārtavīrya who conquered neighbouring states and became a 'cakravartin.' Arjuna's haughtiness caused by power and his ruthless massacre of Brāhmanas finally brought about his death at the hands of Rāma Jāmadagnya. Arjuna's grandson Tālajaṅgha was the ancestor of a set of terrible fighters known

¹ इह ते सखा निद्रं द्युःखकृती संस्थाप्य; सखा नक्षत्रं प्रोच्यते ।

मातर्दधिः सखीरस्य प्रोच्यते इति वृत्तायां सन्निधौ पलाकाः ॥—Rv. VI, 26, 8.

as the Tālajaṅghas. From Tālajaṅgha the dynasty branched off into two. The last kings of these two branch dynasties were Vṛṣṇi and Supratika. There is no mention in any of the Purans of any other Haihaya king after Vṛṣṇi and Supratika, but the Vāyn and the Matsya remarks that the descendants of the Haihaya king Vītihōtra continued to rule in Avantī.

The power of the Haihayas was crushed. Now sometime before the time of the very powerful king Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the Haihayas were gaining in power. They invaded the kingdom of Kāśī, and killed its king Haryaśva in an action which took place near the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. During the reign of his son Sudeva, the Haihaya again invaded Vārāṇasī, defeated the king Sudeva, and plundered the capital. After the death of Sudeva, his son Divōdāsa was installed as king. He built the capital strongly as he quite knew what the Haihayas were worth. As usual, the Haihayas came and invested the capital whereupon Saudeva Divōdāsa came out of Vārāṇasī and gave them battle. After a long fight which continued for a hundred days, Divōdāsa Saudeva was defeated, abandoned the capital and took refuge in the hermitage of Bharadvāja. The Rṣi after hearing of the plight to which Saudeva Divōdāsa was put, performed sacrifices for a heroic son to be born to him. His son Pratardana was born a great hero. In his youth, he was very brave and well-trained in the use of arms.

When Pratardana was considered strong enough to measure his strength with the Haihayas, he was sent by his father to punish them. Accordingly, Pratardana crossed the Ganges and led an aggressive war on the Haihayas by invading their capital. The forces of the Haihaya king Vitahavya were completely routed in the conflict, and victorious Pratardana pursued Vitahavya to the very-hermitage of a Bhṛgu. Vitahavya exchanged the sword for the scriptures and became a Bhārgava teacher and thus his

life was spared. The *Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa* (XV, 3,7.) also says that *Bharadvāja* was the *Purōhita* of *Divōdāsa*; and the *Kāthaka Saṃhita* (XXI, 10) says that *Bharadvāja* gave *Pratardana* the kingdom. Now it is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that the son of this *Bhārgava Vītahavya* was that famous *Gṛtsamada* whose appearance was like that of *Indra* and who was assaulted by the *Daityas* who thought him to be *Indra* himself¹. It is also stated that his compositions, preserved in the *Rgveda*, were among the very best².

From the *Sarvānukramanī* of *Kātyāyana*, *Sāyana* quotes³ "that *Gṛtsamada* who was the son of *Śaunahōtra* of the *Āngiras* family and who entered the *Bhṛgu* family by being a *Śaunaka* saw the second *Maṇḍala*"; *Sāyana* further says⁴ that *Gṛtsamada*, the son of *Śaunahōtra* of the *Āngiras* family, was captured by the *Asuras* and rescued by *Indra*.

It is related in the *Bṛhaddevatā* that *Gṛtsamada*⁵ having applied himself to austerity, looked like *Indra*. Then two *Daityas* of terrible prowess, *Dhuni* and *Cumuri*, thinking him to be *Indra* himself, fell upon him, armed. Then being aware of their intention, the *Rājā* glorified *Indra* who being pleased by the hymns of *Gṛtsamada* killed the two *Daityas*. The particular hymn composed by *Gṛtsamada* on this occasion is mentioned as that beginning with "ये जात &c." i.e. the 12th hymn of *Maṇḍala* II of the *Rgveda*. *Gṛtsamada* is also described in the *Bṛhaddevatā* as the son of *Śaunahōtra*⁶ and as a *Bhārgava* in the *Saṃkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*.⁷

¹ तथा गृत्समदः, उच्यते कृपेकेन्द्र इत्यादि ।

महाभारतमिति श्री द्रौपदीर्महर्षीतः, किलाम्बवत् ॥—Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 58; 59.

² अथर्ववेदं वर्तते यस्याः सुविश्वसा महाशानः ॥—Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 69.

³ तथा साधुमनसिना । य आदिरसः श्रीनदीको भूया भागवतः श्रीनदीऽभवत् स गृत्समदो द्वितीयः महाशानमभवत् ॥—Say. Kram. Rv. II, 1.

⁴ स च पूर्वमादिरसकुले हनदोऽस्य उच्यते; यन् महाशानिःपुत्रेणैव हीत इत्यर्थः च कीदृशः ।
Say. Kram. Rv. II, 1.

⁵ Br. Dv. IV, 66-69.

⁶ Br. Dv. IV, 78.

⁷ Saṃkh. Brs. XXII, 4.

From the R̥gveda we collect the following points about Gr̥tsamada :

- (i) Gr̥tsamada was the son of Sunahōtra (II, 41, 14 ; 17.) ;
- (ii) he mentions Sambara as having been found in the mountains after a long search of forty years (II, 12, 11) ;
- (iii) he speaks of Sambara's hundred very old cities as having been rent by Indra (II, 14, 6) ;
- (iv) he says that Indra rent the ninety-nine cities of Sambara in favour of Divōdāsa (II, 19, 8) ;
- (v) he says that the two Asuras, Cumuri and Dhuni, were killed by Indra in favour of the royal seer Dabhiiti and that even the door keeper of Dabhiiti obtained the enemies' gold (II, 15, 9).

The Puranas say¹ that Gr̥tsamada was the third son of Sunahōtra, the latter being the son of Nahusa's brother Ksatravṛddha ; and that Gr̥tsamada's son was Śunaka ; and that his grandson Śaunaka inaugurated the division of the Aryan race into four principal groups on the basis of the nature of their work. Thus the Puranas take Gr̥tsamada to a very early age.

From all these, the following conclusions may be drawn :

(1) The two Gr̥tsamadas, Gr̥tsamada Śaunahōtra and Gr̥tsamada Vaitahavya were probably one and the same person.

(2) Gr̥tsamada Vaitahavya must be either a contemporary of or later than Divōdāsa who killed Sambara.

(3) Gr̥tsamada Vaitahavya entered the Śaunaka order of Bhārgava teachers and hence was called Śaunaka Gr̥tsamada. The Bhārgavas were divided into seven orders among which the Śaunaka was one (Va. 65, 96).

(4) Cumuri and Dhuni were killed by the King Dabhiiti and his soldiers, and belonged to a very early age, and hence Āngirasa Gr̥tsamada i.e. the son of Sunahōtra who was

¹ Brm. II, 32 ; 33. Vs. IV, 3, 1. Va. 92, 2 ; 3 ; 4.

oppressed by the same two Daityas, was a contemporary of King Dabhiiti.

(5) The same Grtsamada was adopted by Bhārgava Vītahavya as stated in the Mahābhārata and became known as Bhārgava Grtsamada.

(6) Vītahavya the Haihaya, was enlisted in the general order of Bhārgava teachers.

(7) The Śaunaka order of Bhārgava teachers did not exist before the time of Vītahavya the Haihaya, and Sāyana is probably wrong in calling Grtsamada a Śaunaka.

(8) The statement in the Sarvānukramanī quoted by Sāyana seems to be based on the custom of adoption which was prevalent even in the Vedic age as we shall show later on.

The line that sprang from Vītahavya Bhārgava as stated in the Mahābhārata is entered on the genealogical table which goes to show that Grtsamada Vaitahavya ranks only two steps below Atithigva Divōdāsa whose exploits he must have therefore heard of, and hence may very well mention Divōdāsa in his compositions. This shows that Grtsamada Vaitahavya was later than Atithigva Divōdāsa and hence the Mahābhārata seems to be perfectly right in identifying him.

Now in the Rāmāyaṇa we find¹ that Pratardana is also called the brave Kauśeya, and that he returned to his own capital Vārāṇasī with the permission of Rāma Dāśarathi, after the coronation of the latter was over. The word 'Kauśeya' there, suggests amendment to 'Kāśeya' which means 'the descendant of Kāśī.' His son Kṣattrasrī, whom Vājineya Bharadvāja speaks of, was probably another name or a surname of the Puranic Vata. Or it may be the name of some other son of Pratardana Daivōdāsi. For we know that Partardana had many sons amongst

¹ N. Ram. VII, 38, 19, 20.

whom Vatsa and Bharga were famous,¹ and we have already seen that Pratardana had his son named Kṣattrasrī² as evidenced by the Rgveda.

Thus we see that the Aikṣvāka King Daśaratha, the father of Rāma, the northern Pāñcāla King Atithigva Divōdāsa, the brother of Ahalyā, Senajit, the southern Pāñcāla King, Sārvabhauma and Rkṣa II, the sons of Viduratha of the Hastināpura line, Kṛta, the father of Uparicara whose descendant Bhadratha I founded the kingdom of Magadha, Rōmapāda-Daśaratha of the dynasty of Aṅga, Śrādhvaja Janaka, the father of Sitā, King Satvant of the Yadu dynasty, and the father of Vitahavya the Haihaya,—all these ten kings belonged to the same age, namely the age of Divōdāsa.

¹ Va. 92, 65; Bṛm. 11, 50; Hv. I, 29, 73.

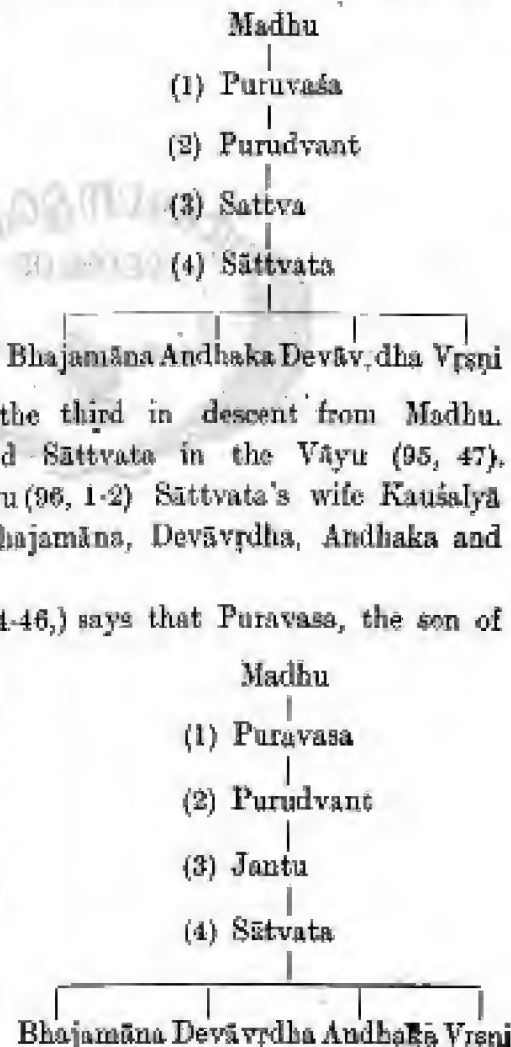
² R. VI, 26, 8.

CHAPTER III.

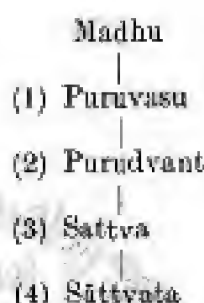
THE DESCENDANTS OF THE KING SATVANT OF THE YADUS.

We shall now try to reconcile the various conflicting descriptions in the Purāṇas of the dynasty that sprang from the king Satvant of the Yadus. The Vāyu (93, 45-47), calls him Sattva and represents him to have been the son of Purudvant by Aikṣvāki. This Purudvant was, according to the Vāyu, the son of Puruṣaśa (or Mahāpuruṣaśa) and the latter was one of the four sons of Madhu, so that according to the Vāyu, Sattva (the correct name is Satvant, *vide* Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 21; *vide* also Ait. Bra. VIII, 14) was the third in descent from Madhu. Sattva's son is named Sātvata in the Vāyu (95, 47). According to the Vāyu (96, 1-2) Sātvata's wife Kauśalya was the mother of Bhajamāna, Devāvr̥dha, Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi.

The Matsya (44, 44-46,) says that Puravasa, the son of Madhu, was the father of Purudvant and that Jantu was born to Purudvant by Vaidarvī Bhadrasenī, while Jantu had by Aikṣvāki his famous son Sātvata. Hence according to the Matsya, as ac-



According to the Vāyu, Sāttvata was the fourth in descent from Madhu. It is clear that Sattva of the Vāyu is the same as Jantu of the Matsya. According to the Matsya (44, 47) Bhajamāna, Devāvr̥dha, Andhaka, and Vṛṣṇi were the Sātvatas (Sātvatān) and were born to Kauśalyā. The Matsya evidently means that these four were the sons of Sātvata. The Brahmāṇḍa (II, 3, 70, 46-48) says that Madhu's son was Puruvasu; Puruvasu's son was Purudvant; Purudvant's son by Bhadravati was Purūdvaḥa, but by Aikṣvākī was born Sattva; and from him (i.e. from the last named Sattva) was born the famous Sāttvata. Thus according to the Brahmāṇḍa which closely agrees with Bhajamāna Devāvr̥dha Vṛṣṇi Andhaka the Vāyu, Sāttvata



was the fourth in descent from Madhu. The Brahmāṇḍa (II, 3, 71, 1) adds that Sāttvata had his sons named Bhajamāna Devāvr̥dha, Andhaka, Vṛṣṇi &c. by Kauśalyā. The Harivaṃśa (I, 36, 28) says that Madhu had, by Vaidarbhī, a son named Maruvasas. It is evident that this Maruvasas of the Harivaṃśa is the same as Puruvasa of the Vāyu, Puravasa of the Matsya and Puruvasu of the Brahmāṇḍa. The son of Maruvasas was, according to the Harivaṃśa (I, 36, 29a,) the excellent Purudvant. After finishing with Purudvant, the son of Maruvasas, the Harivaṃśa I, 36, 29b states "मधुर्जन्तेऽथ वेदभ्यो मदवत्सो कुरुद्वहः" which literally means "Kurūdvaḥa Madhu was born then to Bhadravati of the house of Vaidarbha". The commentator Nīlakantha clears this by stating that Purudvant's wife was Bhadravati Vaidarbhī and Madhu was born to her. After this the Harivaṃśa (I, 36, 30a) says that

Aikṣvāki too was the wife, and Satvant was born to her. The Harivamśa really means that in addition to Vaidarbhī Bhadravati (the mother of Madhu Kurudvaha), Purudvant had Aikṣvāki too as his wife, and that Satvant was born to Aikṣvāki. Thus according to the Harivamśa, the genealogy stands as represented here. The Harivamśa I, 36, 30b finishes with Satvant by remarking that Satvant was possessed of all good qualities and was, amongst the Sātvatas, a spreader of fame. (Satvān Sarvagunōpetah sātvatām kirtivardhanah). The corresponding line in the Vāyu and the Brahmānda runs as

	Madhu
(1)	Maruvasas
(2)	Purudvant
(3)	Satvant

“Sattvāt Sattvagunōpetah Sāttvatah Kirtivardhanah”

and means

“From Sattva (was born) Sāttvatah, the possessor of Sattva qualities and the increaser of fame”. The corresponding line in the Matsya runs as

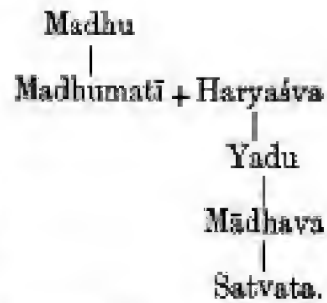
“Sāttvatah Sattvasamyuktah Sāttvatām Kirtivardhanah”

and means

“Sāttvata (who was born to Jantu) was possessed of Sattva qualities (and was) amongst the Sāttvatas an increaser of the fame or an increaser of the fame of the Sāttvatas” (taking Sāpekāsatvepi gamakatvāt Samāśah). Now the Harivamśa after calling the son of Purudvant by the name Satvant, next chooses (I, 37, 1) to call him Satvata.

The Harivamśa gives another account of the ancestry of Satvata whom it has also called Satvant as we have seen just now. It says (Hv II, 37, 12-13) that there was a king named Haryaśva who belonged to the dynasty of Ikṣvāku, the son of Manu, and that he (i.e. Haryaśva) married Madhumatī the daughter of Madhu—a Daitya. Haryaśva's son was Yadu (Hv. II, 37, 44) ; one of Yadu's five sons was named Mādhava (Hv. II, 38, 1-2) ; Mādhava's son was Satvata (Hv. II, 38, 36-37). Hence according to his second account of the Harivamśa, the ancestry of Satvata stands as re-

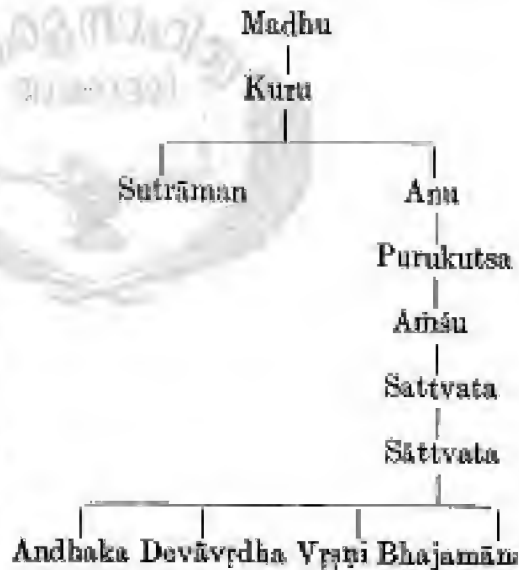
presented in the adjoining tree. Now the Harivaṃśa has said before (I, 37, 1-2) that Andhaka was one of the many sons of Satvata, while it now says that Satvata's son was Bhīma (Hv. II, 38, 38) and that Bhīma's son was Andhaka (Hv. II, 38, 43). Hence according to



this second statement of the Harivaṃśa, Bhīma may be patronymically called Sātvata whose existence is a certainty on the strength of the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa, and the Matsya.

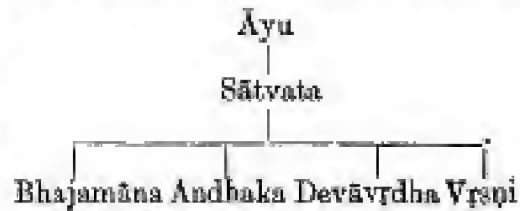
The genealogy according to the Kūrma (I, 24, 30-34) is represented by the

adjoined tree. It says that Sattvata, the son of Amśu made a scripture for the Kuṇḍas and the Gōlas on the advice of a certain Rsi Nārada and that Sattvata's son Sāttvata circulated the scripture (Km. I, 24, 30-33). The Kūrma adds (I, 24, 35-36) that the Sātvatas [Sātvatān] named Andhaka,



Vṛṣṇi, Devāvr̥dha, and Bhājamāna &c., were born to Kauśalyā. The Kūrma evidently means that these were the sons of Sātvata by Kauśalyā. The Viṣṇu says (Iv, 12, 16) that Amśu's son was Satvata and that Satvata's sons were Bhājina, Bhājamāna, Andhaka, Devāvr̥dha, Vṛṣṇi &c. (Vs. IV, 13, 1). Thus according to the Viṣṇu, the sons of the Satvata were known

as the Sātvatas. The Visṇu omits Sātvata, the son of Satvant and the father of Andhaka, Devāvr̥dha, Bhajamāna &c. Ar̥śu of the Visṇu stands for Satvant, and Satvata for Sātvata. According to the Bhāgavata (IX, 24,6) Āyu's son was Sātvata and Sātvata's sons were Bhajamāna, Bhaji, Vṛṣṇi, Devāvr̥dha, Andhaka &c. It is easy to infer that Āyu of the Bhāgavata stands for Sattva of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, Jantu of the Matsya, Ar̥śu of the Visṇu and the Kūrma, Satvant of the Harivamśa.



According to the Agni 275, 22-24 Madhu's son Dravarasa was the father of Puruhuta, and Puruhuta's son Jantu was the father of Sāttvata and Sāttvata was the father of Bhajamāna, Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka and Devāvr̥dha. The genealogy is represented in adjoined tree. It is evident that Jantu of the Agni stands for Jantu of the Matsya and therefore for Sattva of the Vāyu.



The Brahma simply says (15, 28-31) that Madhu's son was Satvant and Satvant's sons were Bhajamāna, Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka and Devāvr̥dha. It is clear that the Brahma omits steps and especially the king Sātvata.

From all these evidences of the Purāṇas, it is clear that the father of Bhajamāna, Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka and Devāvr̥dha, was a king whom the Vāyu, the Matsya, the Brahmāṇḍa,

the Kūrma, the Bhāgavata, the Agni have called Sātvata or Sātva. This same king has been called Bhīma, the son of Satvata by the Harivaṃśa (in its second account). It is clear that the Vāyu, the Matsya, the Brahmāṇḍa &c. have used the patronymic, while the Harivaṃśa, in its second account, gives the personal name. Hence we shall call him Bhīma Sātvata (i.e. the son of Satvant). The Viṣṇu has corrupted the name of his father (i.e. Satvant) into Amśu and the name of the son into Satvata which should have been Sātvata. Lastly the Kūrma which is much later separates the same name into Amśu and Satvata.

Now we shall determine the dynasty of Bhīma Sātvata. This famous king Bhīma Sātvata was according to the Harivaṃśa ruling at the same time when Rāma Daśarathi was ruling his kingdom and that when they were thus simultaneously reigning, Satrugna killed Lavana, the son of Madhu, and cut down the forest of Madhu and established the town of Mathurā.¹ The Harivaṃśa further says, that Andhaka, the son of Bhīma (= Sātvata) was ruling in Mathurā at the same time when Rāma's son Kuśa was ruling his own kingdom.² The Rāmāyaṇa says that Satrugna installed his son Subāhu in Mathurā,³ and the Harivaṃśa improves on this by informing us that Bhīma re-occupied Mathurā and even resided there for a time.⁴ It is certain then that

1. सलिलक सुती राजा भीमो नाम सदानभूः ।
 येन भेषाः सुसंस्थाः सलिलान् सारिताः कृताः ॥
 राज्ये स्थिते दुष्टे तस्मिन् रामे राज्यं प्रस्थासति ।
 मधुपुत्रो लवणं हत्वा विश्वेन्दुं स मपीवेनम् ।
 तस्मिन् मधुवने काले प्रसीध मधुराधिकां ॥
 भिवेषयायाय विश्वः सुमित्रानन्दवर्धनः ॥ HV. II, 38, 38—40.

2. ततः कुष्ठे स्थिते राज्ये लवे तु सुवराजनि ।
 यमकी नाम भीमक सुती राज्यमकारयत् ॥ HV. II, 38, 43.

3. N. Ram. VII, 108, 10.

4. HV. II, 38, 41—42.

Satrugghna's son Subāhu was ousted by Bhīma Sātvata. Every one will admit that a detailed information like this can only come out of a well-informed source and accordingly we hold that this synchronism supplied by the *Harivaṁśa* is based on truth. Yet there are Vedic evidences to prove the same contemporaneity between Rāma Dāśarathi and Bhīma Sātvata. We have already seen that the *Purāṇas* are completely unanimous in holding that Bhajamāna, Devāvr̥dha, Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi were brothers. Of these Devāvr̥dha performed austerities on the bank of the river Parṇāśa and got an excellent son named Babhru.¹ In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* it is found² that the Rsis Parvata and Nārada spoke about the edibles of a Kṣatriya to Sōmaka Sāhadeva (=the son of Sahadeva); Sōmaka again spoke about it to Sahadeva Śr̥ṇjaya (=the son of Śr̥ṇjaya), that is, Sōmaka really spoke about it to his father Sahadeva; Sahadeva again spoke about it to Babhru Daivāvr̥dha (=the son of Devāvr̥dha). This shows that Babhru, the son of Devāvr̥dha, was a contemporary, to a certain extent, of Sōmaka, the son of Sahadeva, as well as of Sahadeva, the son of Śr̥ṇjaya. We have already established from the *R̥gveda* that Atithigva Divōdāsa, the son of Vadhyr̥śva, and Prastōka, the son of Śr̥ṇjaya, were contemporaries, as Garga, the son of Vājineya Bharadvāja, accepted gifts both from Atithigva Divōdāsa as well as from Prastōka.³ We have also established that this Divōdāsa, the son of Vadhyr̥śva,⁴ was no other than the very Divōdāsa who was the brother of Ahalyā.⁵ Remembering now that Ahalyā was accepted back by Śaradvant Gautama after Rāma Dāśarathi paid her a visit, it cannot but be inferred that Bhīma Sātvata, the grand-father of Babhru Daivāvr̥dha,

¹ Va. 99, 4-16; Mb. 44, 51-60; Bd. II, 3, 71, 6-16; Hv. I, 37, 6-13; Km. I, 24, 37-38; Va. IV, 13, 3-5; Bb. IX, 24, 3-11; Ag. 275, 25-26; Brm. 15, 33-44.

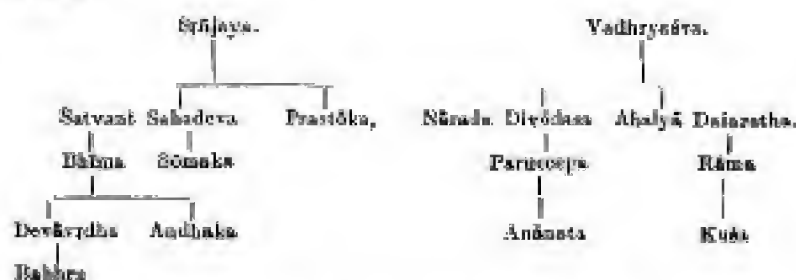
² Ait. Brm. VII, 34.

³ Rv. VI, 47, 21-25.

⁴ Rv. VI, 61, 1.

⁵ Va. 99, 100-201.

was a contemporary, to a certain extent, of Rāma Dāśarathi. The contemporaneity is best illustrated by the following table :



Now we proceed with the successive lineal descendants of Andhaka the son of Sātvata (=Bhīma). The Vāyu at the very start when it proposes to give us the lineal descendants of Andhaka, corrupts the name 'Andhaka,' into 'Satyaka' and 'Kukura' into 'Kakuda' and says that the daughter of the king of Kāśi gave birth to Kakuda Bhajamāna, Śuci and Kambalabarhis from Satyaka.¹ The Vāyu afterwards corrects the name Kukuda into Kukura.² It may be that Satyaka was another name of Andhaka. The Matsya corrupts³ 'Andhakāt Kāśyaduhitā' into 'Atha Kankasya duhitā' and then proceeds with the lineal descendants as does the Vāyu. The Brahmāṇḍa says⁴ that Kukura, Bhajamāna, Śuci and Kambalabarhis were born to Satyaka by the daughter of the Kāśi king. The reading in the Harivamśa is satisfactory as it says⁵ that the daughter of the king of the dynasty of Kāśi had four sons namely Kukura, Bhajamāna, Sami and Kambalabarhis from Andhaka. The Harivamśa in its second account says⁶ that Andhaka's son (Suta) was Raivata. It will be realised afterwards as we proceed that the word 'Suta' here means a distant descendant and not the son, and that the name Raivata is a corrupt form of the correct name Revata. The Kārma says⁷ that

¹ Va. 96, 115.

² Va. 96, 131.

³ Mt. 44, 61.

Bd. II, 3, 71, 116.

⁴ Hv. I, 37, 17.

⁵ Hv. II, 38, 44.

⁷ Km. I, 24, 48-49.

the daughter of the king of the dynasty of Kāśī had, from Andhaka, four sons namely Kukura, Bhajamāna, Samīka and Kambalabarhiṣa, so that the reading in the Kūrma too is satisfactory. The Viṣṇu says that Andhaka's¹ four sons were Kukura, Bhajamāna, Suci and Kambalabarhiṣa so that the Viṣṇu is all right. The Bhāgavata mentions only the names of the four brothers Kukura, Bhajamāna, Suci, and Kambalabarhiṣa but omits the name of their father i.e. it omits Andhaka.² The commentator however clears this by quoting from the Viṣṇu that these four are to be understood to have been the sons of Andhaka. The Agni says³ that Kukura, Bhajamāna, Sini and Kambalabarhiṣa were the four sons of Babhru Daivārydha. But this is a mistake as can be inferred from the combined testimony of the Kūrma, the Viṣṇu and the Harivaṃśa as well as from the evidences of the Vāyu the Matsya, and the Brahmāṇḍa although the readings in the latter three are corrupt. The same is evidenced by the Brahma which says⁴ that from Andhaka the daughter of the Kāśya king had four sons namely Kukura, Bhajamāna, Śaśaka and Balabarhiṣa [Śaśakam Balabarhiṣam]. It is evident that 'Śaśakam Balabarhiṣam' is the scribes error for Śucim Kambalabarhiṣam, 'kam' having been separated from 'balarniṣam' and added on to the corrupt form 'Śaśa' which should have been 'Śucim' as sanctioned by the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu, the Brahmāṇḍa, and the Bhāgavata. This Suci has been called Śaśī in the Matsya, Sini in the Agni, Sami in the Harivaṃśa and Samīka in the Kūrma as we have seen before.

The Purāṇas now deal with the lineal descendants of Kukura, the son of Andhaka. Kukura's son has been called Br̥ṣṭi (in some manuscripts Br̥ṣṇi) in the Vāyu,⁵ Br̥ṣṇi in the Matsya,⁶ Br̥ṣṇi in the Brahmāṇḍa,⁷ Dhr̥ṣṇu in the Hari-

¹ Ya. IV, 14, 3.² Bh. IX, 24, 19a.³ Ag. 275, 27.⁴ Brm. 15, 45-46.⁵ Va. 96, 116a.⁶ Mt. 44, 62a.⁷ Bā. II, 3, 71, 117a.

varṇa,¹ Br̥ṣṇi in the Kūrma,² Dhṛṣṭa in the Viṣṇu,³ Vahni in the Bhāgavata,⁴ Dhṛṣṇu in the Agni,⁵ and Br̥ṣṭi in the Brahma.⁶ The correct form of the name is Vṛṣṇi. After Vṛṣṇi whom we shall call Vṛṣṇi II, there is a divergence of opinion amongst the Purāṇas as regards his lineal descendants. The Vāyu says⁷ that Br̥ṣṇi (or Br̥ṣṭi) had a son named Kapōtarōman and Satvant
 Kapōtarōman's son was Revata
 and Revata had a learned son
 Bhava [Bhavat in the line
 'Tasyasāttumburusakhā Vidvān
 Putro 'bhavat kila' is a corrupt
 reading for the personal name
 'Bhava' because after the verb
 'āsīt' has been used, there is no
 need of using 'abhavat' again].
 He was the friend of Tumburu
 and was well-known by his (i.e.
 Tumburu's) name as Can-
 danōdakadundubhi; they were namesake and were friends.
 Thus according to the Vāyu, the genealogy would stand as represented above.

(1) Bhīma Sātvata

(2) Andhaka

(3) Kukura

(4) Vṛṣṇi II

(5) Kapōtarōman

(6) Revata

(7) Bhava-Candanōdaka-
 dundubhi

The Brahmāṇḍa gives⁸ the same number of steps from Vṛṣṇi II to Candanōdakadundubhi but it changes Revata of the Vāyu into Vilōman and gives the name of the son of Vilōman as Andhaka and adds that this Andhaka's another name was Candanōdakadundubhi. It is evident then Revata of the Vāyu is the same as Vilōman of the Brahmāṇḍa. The Viṣṇu says⁹ that Dhṛṣṭa's son was Kapōtarōman, Kapōtarōman's son was Vilōman, and Vilōman's son Bhava was surnamed as Candanōdakadundubhi. Thus Bhava of the Viṣṇu is the same as Andhaka of the Brahmāṇḍa and Bhava

¹ Hv. I, 37, 18a.² Km. I, 24, 49b.³ Vs. IV, 14, 4.⁴ Bh. IX, 24, 19.⁵ Ag. 175, 28.⁶ Brm. 15, 46.⁷ Va. 96, 116-117.⁸ Bd. II, 3, 71, 117-118.⁹ Va. IV, 14, 4.

of the Vāyu. According to the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa that gentleman's surname was Candanŏdakadundubhi. The Kūrma says¹ that Br̥ṣṣi's son Kapōtarōman was the father of Vilōmaka and Vilōmaka's son Tama was the friend of

Tumburu and Tama's son was Ānakadundubhi. It is evident that the Kūrma corrupts Candanŏdakadundubhi into Ānakadundubhi and commits a mistake by separating its Tama (= Andhaka of the Brahmāṇḍa—Bhava of the Viṣṇu) from Candanŏdakadundubhi. This mistake has certainly been due to corrupt readings. The Kūrma partially corrects itself by calling its Ānakadundubhi by Candanŏdakadundubhi later on.² The Bhāgavata says³ that Vahni (= Vr̥ṣṣi II) had his son named Vilōman and Vilōman's son was Kapōtarōman and Kapōtarōman's son was Anu and his friend was Tumburu. Thus the Bhāgavata reverses the order by making Kapōtarōman the son of Vilōman and gives the name Anu for Bhava, the friend of Tumburu. It is evident that this Anu of the Bhāgavata is the same as Andhaka of the Brahmāṇḍa, Bhava of the Viṣṇu and the Vāyu, and Tama of the Kūrma.

Satvant

- (1) Sātvata (= Bhīma)
- (2) Andhaka
- (3) Kukura
- (4) Vr̥ṣṣi II
- (5) Kapōtarōman
- (6) Revata—Vilōman
- (7) Andhaka—Candanŏdakadundubhi

Satvant

- (1) Sātvata (= Bhīma)
- (2) Andhaka
- (3) Kukura
- (4) Vr̥ṣṣi II
- (5) Kapōtarōman
- (6) Revata—Vilōman
- (7) Anu—Candanŏdakadundubhi—Bhava

* Km. I, 24, 49-50.

² Km. I, 24, 63a.

³ Bh. IX, 24, 19-20a.

Brahmāṇḍa, Bhava of the Viṣṇu and the Vāyū and hence was the same as Candanŏdakadundubh¹ and not his father as indicated in the Agni which apparently distorts the identity owing to its corrupt readings.

The Brahma says² that Br̥ṣṭi's son was Kapōtarōman and Kapōtarōman's son was Tīliri and Tīliri's son was Punarvasu. Tīliri is evidently a corruption for Tittiri whom we have seen before to have been the successor of Kapōtarōman and hence he was no other than Revata of the Vāyū and Vilōman of the Brahmāṇḍa, the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata and the Kūrma &c. The Brahma omits steps between this Revata-Vilōman-Tittiri and Punarvasu who is a bit below in the list.

At last, we turn to the Harivamśa where we find³ Dhr̥ṣṇu, Kapōtarōman, Tittiri, Punarvasu as the lineal descendants after Kukurā. Thus the Harivamśa omits steps between Tittiri-Vilōman-Revata and Punarvasu. We shall see presently that Punarvasu belongs to a lower step on the genealogical table.

Now we shall determine the successive lineal descendants of Bhava who was surnamed Candanŏdakadundubhi. To do this let us try to understand the following lines quoted from the Vāyū 96, 118-119

तस्माच्चामिजितः पुत्र उत्पन्नस्तु पुनर्वसुः ।

अजमेधं तु पुत्रार्थं पात्रहार नरोत्तमः ।

तस्य मध्येऽतिरात्रस्य सदोमध्यात् समुत्थितः ।

ततस्तु विद्वान् धर्मज्ञो दाता यज्या पुनर्वसुः ॥

¹ Br̥ṣṭi 13, 46-47.

² Hc. I, 37, 18-19.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------|
| | Satvant |
| | |
| (1) Bhīma Sātvata | \| |
| | |
| (2) Andhaka | \| |
| | |
| (3) Kukurā | \| |
| | |
| (4) Vr̥ṣṇi II | \| |
| | |
| (5) Kapōtarōman | \| |
| | |
| (6) Revatā-Vilōman- | \| |
| Tittiri | \| |
| | |
| (7) Bhava-Candanŏdaka- | \| |
| dundubhi | \| |

Mark the words 'Abhijitah' and 'Atirātrasya' in the first and the third lines respectively of the verses quoted above from the Vāyu.

Now turn to the Satapatha Brāhmana. There¹ we find that Atṛāra's son, the Kauśalya Para Hairanyanābha sacrificed with an Abhijit Atirātra. The Vedic scholar knows it well that Jyōtis Atirātra, Āyus Atirātra, Viśvajit Atirātra Abhijit Atirātra, Gō Atirātra &c. were famous forms of Atirātra sacrifices. The Abhijit and the Viśvajit may also be performed as Agnistōma sacrifices and in that case they form part of the Gavam Ayana. The Abhijit as an Atirātra when performed as a part of a sacrificial session like the Aśvamedha, as in the present case, consists of chanting twelve *Stōtras* in four different *Stōmas*. Now try to understand the two verses quoted from the Vāyu Purāṇa. They really mean that the Yādava king Bhava who was surnamed Candanōdakadundubhi instituted an Aśvamedha sacrifice for a son to be born to him, and during the session of the Aśvamedha when *Stōtras* were being chanted in the Abhijit Atirātra sacrifice of that session, Punarvasu rose from the centre of the enclosure of the *Vedi* [Sadōmadhyāt]. It may be taken to be established then that Bhava-Candanōdakadundubhi, by virtue of an Abhijit Atirātra performed in the sacrificial session of the Aśvamedha, got his famous son Punarvasu. Thus the information supplied by the Vāyu about the whole affair is of absorbing interest.

Now turn to the other Purāṇas. The Brahmand (II, 3, 71, 119), the Viṣṇu (IV, 14, 4), the Kūrma (I, 24, 63) (or rather the pandits who wrote them during the early Gupta period) have not been able to understand the true meaning of the interesting tradition handed down to them; and accordingly an imaginary Abhijit between Bhava-Candanōdakadundubhi and his son Punarvasu has been set

¹ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 4.

up in them. The *Harivamśa* (I, 37, 18-19) is in serious error in omitting *Bhava-Candanōdakadundubhī* from between its *Taittirī* (= *Vilōman* = *Revata*) and *Punarvasu*. So also has been the *Brahma* (15, 47). The *Agni* (2 5, 29) is all right, although it corrupts names. Now we turn to the *Matsya* which gives the corresponding lines as follow :

तस्मिन् प्रवितते यज्ञे अभिजातः पुनर्वसुः ।
 यज्ञमेषं तु पुनर्वसुमात्रं नरोत्तमः ॥
 तस्य मध्येऽतिरात्रस्य सुभामध्यात् समुत्थितः ।
 यतस्तु विद्वान् कर्मज्ञो यज्वा दाता पुनर्वसुः ॥

It will be noticed that the *Matsya* words 'Abhijātah' 'Sabhā-madhyāt' and 'Karmajño' stand for the corresponding *Vāyu* words 'Abhijitah,' 'Sadō-madhyāt' and 'Dharmajño.' The superiority of the *Vāyu* over the *Matsya* is clearly felt when it is perceived that 'Abhijitah' is *the* word in this particular case and means 'by virtue of the Abhijit sacrifice' and that 'Sadō-madhyāt' is the only word appropriate in connection with the sacrificial altar (cf. *Vedīsadas*); and that *Dharma* is the proper word which means a *Yajña*, a sacrifice (*Rv.* III, 17, 1, 5; *Rv.* I, 134, 5; *Kumb. M. Bh.* XII, 58, 21, &c.). As against these, the *Matsya* word 'Abhijātah' means 'born' and cannot stand as an historical evidence. The *Matsya* word 'Sabhā-madhyāt' means very little, while the *Vāyu* form 'Sadō-madhyāt' is the exact word which was used in those days in connection with sacrifices, [compare *Vedīsadas*, *Yajñāsadasī*, *Yajñāsadana*, *Sadas* (*Sat. Bra.* V, 4, 3, 6) *Sadasya* &c.]

To give an idea of the *Sadas* we observe that the *Iṣṭis* were performed in the *Prācnavamśa*. To the east of the *Prācnavamśa*, lay the *Mahā-Vedi*. On the eastern part of this *Mahā-Vedi* or *Saumika Vedi* was erected the *Sadas* or a shed. The *Sōna* was used to be brought from the *Prācnavamśa* to the *Sadas*. Six long parallel fire-pits

[Dhīṣṇyas] stretched from the North to the South inside the Sadas. Near the centre of the series of Dhīṣṇyas was placed the Audumbarī.

Similarly Karma being derived from the root Kṛ originally meant any action (Rv. I, 62, 6) ; but of course it afterwards came to mean a sacrifice. After all, the priority of the Vāyu over the other Purāṇas for these and many other reasons, is indisputable.

Now who was the	Satvant
son of Punarvasu ?	|
The Vāyu says that	(1) Bhīma Sātvata
Punarvasu had a twin	|
i.e. Āhuka and Āhukī.	(2) Andhaka-Satyaka
Of these Āhuka was	|
unconquered [Bāhu-	(3) Kukura
Vāṇājitaḥ] [compare	|
'Yamāhura-jitam Kṛs-	(4) Vṛṣṇi II
nam' Kumb. MBh. III,	|
273, 74]'. The Matsya	(5) Kapōtarōman
also says that the	|
twin [Putra-mithunam]	(6) Revata-Vilōman-Tittiri
was conquered (Babhū-	|
vāvijitam). ¹ The Brahmāṇḍa (Venkateśvara Press edition)	(7) Bhava-Candanōḍakadundubhi
however without understanding the word 'Bāhuvāṇājitaḥ'	|
has tried to correct it by substituting Babhūvābhijitaḥ	(8) Punarvasu
for it. ² The Harivamśa ³ the Brahma, ⁴ have been misled	
by the Brahmāṇḍa in thinking that Punarvasu's	
son was Abhijit and Ābhijit's twin son and daughter	
were Āhuka and Āhukī. This confusion of the Harivamśa	
and Brahma is checked by the Viṣṇu, ⁵ the Kārma, ⁶ the	
Bhāgavata ⁷ and the Agni ⁸ all of which clearly state that	
Āhuka and Āhukī were respectively the son and daughter	

¹ Ya. 96, 120.

² Mt. 44, 66.

³ Bd. II, 3, 71, 121.

⁴ Hv. I, 37, 19.

⁵ Brm. 15, 47-48.

⁶ Vs. IV, 14, 4.

⁷ Km. I, 24, 63.

⁸ Bh. IX, 24, 21.

⁹ Ag. 275, 29.

of Punarvasu. Accordingly it is settled that the unconquered Āhuka was the son of Punarvasu. It may as well be held in defence of the Brahman̄ḍa i.e. against the Vāyu and the Matsya that Punarvasu had his twin son and daughter i.e. Āhuka and Āhukī by virtue of an Abhijit sacrifice but even in that case the setting up of an imaginary Abhijit as the son of Punarvasu, as has been done in the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma, is out of question. Consequently the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma are wrong in this respect.

Āhuka, according to the Vāyu,¹ gave his sister Āhukī in marriage to Āhukāṇḍha and Āhukāṇḍha had a daughter and two sons named Devaka and Ugrasena. As the verses are important we quote them here

आहुकश्चाहुकाम्नाय स्वसारं त्वाहुकीं ददौ ॥
 आहुकाम्नाय दुहित्वा हौ पुत्रौ सम्बभूवतुः ।
 देवकस्योपसेनश्च देवगर्भसमावुभौ ॥²

In some manuscripts of the Vāyu the second line runs as "Āhukātkāśyaduhitā &c." and means "From Āhuka; the daughter of the Kāśī king became two sons namely Devaka and Ugrasena." This means very little and there is no way other than the conclusion that some reading in the Vāyu has become corrupt. The corresponding lines in the Brahman̄ḍa (II, 3, 71, 128-129a) run as follow :

आहुकश्चाप्यवन्तिषु स्वसारं त्वाहुकीं ददौ ।
 आहुकात् काश्यदुहितुर्हौ पुत्रौ सम्बभूवतुः ।
 देवकस्योपसेनश्च देवगर्भसमावुभौ ॥

These readings in the Brahman̄ḍa yield something concrete and mean that Āhuka gave his sister in marriage to the Avantis (perhaps to the royal family) and two sons namely Devaka and Ugrasena were born to the daughter of the Kāśī King from Āhuka. The readings in the Matsya (44, 70-71a) support the Brahman̄ḍa. The Harivaṃśa,³ the

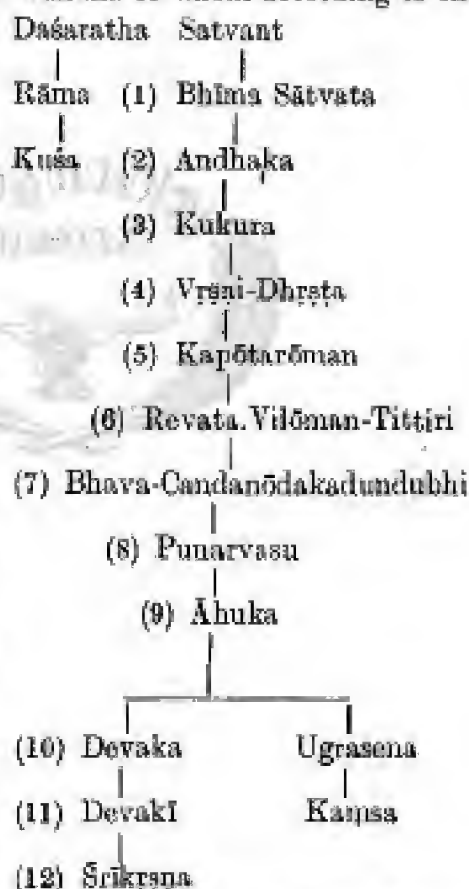
¹ Va, 96, 127-128.

² Hc, I, 37, 26-27a.

Brahma¹ too support the readings of the Matsya and the Brahmāṇḍa. The Viṣṇu,² the Bhāgavata,³ and the Kūrma,⁴ agree in stating that Devaka and Ugrasena were the sons of Āhuka. The Agni⁵ is confused when it states that Ugrasena was the son of Devaka. This confusion is evidently due to corrupt readings. Thus we see that all the Purāṇas together with some manuscripts of the Vāyu converge towards proving that Devaka and Ugrasena were the sons of Āhuka. Yet something may be said in favour of the reading in the Vāyu. Āhukāṇḍha to whom according to the

Vāyu, Āhukī was given in marriage, may be inferred to have been the King of Avantī, if we combine all the evidences of the Purāṇas. Ugrasena's son was Kāṁsa and Devaka's daughter's son was Śrīkṛṣṇa. Thus Śrīkṛṣṇa belongs just one step below Kāṁsa. Thus we see that Śrīkṛṣṇa was the 12th in descent from Satvant who was a contemporary of Divō-dāsa or Daśaratha.

We have seen that Kapōtarōman's son has been named Revata in the Vāyu, Vilōman in the Brahmāṇḍa and the Viṣṇu, and Tittiri in the Matsya,

¹ Brm. 15, 55.² Vē. IV, 4, 5.³ Bh. IX, 24.⁴ Km. I, 24.⁵ Ag. 275, 30a.

Agni, &c. Nevertheless the Purāṇas are unanimous in calling the son of this variously named son of Kapōtarōman by the surname Candanōdakadundubhi. This king has been named Bhava in the Viṣṇu. The Vāyu means to call him Bhava but corrupts the word into 'abhavat.' However, Bhava being the son of Revata may very well be patronymically called Raivata. If this is accepted then the second account given in the Harivamśa II, 37 Ch. about the ancestry of Śrīkṛṣṇa may be explained. Mr. Pargiter thinks that the second account given in the Harivamśa is an old calumny. The account gives

us the adjoined genealogy downwards from Raivata who belongs to the seventh degree below Satvant. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha says that Vasu, the father of Vasudeva in this account was no other than Sūra who is represented as the father of Vasudeva in all the Purāṇas. We notice that Śrīkṛṣṇa in this table derived from the second Harivamśa account belongs to the 12th step below Satvant. Now let us turn to the general Purāṇic account about the ancestry of Śrīkṛṣṇa.

The Viṣṇu says (IV, 14, 8-10) that Divamīdhva had his son named Sūra and Sūra had his wife named Mārīṣā and she became the mother of Vasudeva, the father of Śrīkṛṣṇa. Hence According to the Viṣṇu, the genealogy of this portion only stands thus : The Harivamśa gives the same account (I, 34, 17-18) adding that Devamīdhva begat Sūra on

- (7) Raivata
- |
- (8) Rkṣa Raivata
- |
- (9) Viśvagarbha
- |
- (10) Vasu
- |
- (11) Vasudeva
- |
- (12) Śrīkṛṣṇa

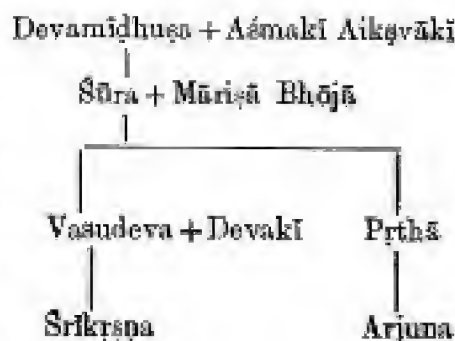
Devamīdhva
|
Sūra + Mārīṣā
|
Vasudeva + Devakī
|
Śrīkṛṣṇa

Aśmakī (=the daughter of the Aśmaka Raj family), and changing the name Mārisā of the Viṣṇu into Mahiṣā Bhōjyā. The Vāyu says (96, 143-144) that Sūra begat Devamīdhuṣa on Aśmakī, Devamīdhuṣa on Māsyā, and Vasudeva &c on Bhāsyā Bhōjā (=the daughter of Bhōjā). This reversal in the order is due to a corrupt reading in the Vāyu, as will appear afterwards.

The Brahmāṇḍa says (II, 3, 71, 145-146) "begat Sūra Devamīdhuṣa on Aśmakī and Sūra begat Vasudeva &c. on Mārisyā Bhōjā. The Brahmāṇḍa also corrupts just one reading by applying the second case-ending to Devamīdhuṣa. Thus corruption is evident as the Brahmāṇḍa cannot say who the father of Sūra Devamīdhuṣa was.

The Matsya says (Mt 46, 1-2) that Aikṣvākī (=the daughter of the Ikṣvāku family) produced Sūra surnamed Adbhūtamīdhuṣa, and Vasudeva &c. were born to Sūra by Pauruṣā Bhōjā. It is evident that the Matsya corrupts Mārisā into Pauruṣā. It should be noticed here that the Mother of Sūra is named Aikṣvākī in the Matsya while the Brahmāṇḍa and the Harivaṃśa call her Aśmakī. It follows then that she was the daughter of the family established by the Aikṣvāka King Aśmaka.

The Bhāgavata (IX, 24, 27-28) says that Devamīdhuṣa Sūra's wife was Mārisā the mother of Vasudeva &c. The commentator Śrīkṛṣṇa clears this by stating that Deva mīdhu's son was Sūra and



Śūra's son was Vasudeva. The Brahma says (14, 14-15) "begat Śūra Devamīdhuṣa on Asiknī and heroes (Śūrah) Vasudeva &c. were born to Mahiṣi Bhōjyā. The Brahma also corrupts Śūram vai Devamīdhuṣaḥ' into 'Śūra vai Devamīdhuṣam' like the Brahmāṇḍa. This is evident as it cannot tell us who the father of Śūra was. It further corrupts 'Aśmakī' into 'Asiknī' and Māriṣā Bhōjā into 'Mahiṣi Bhōjyā,' and "Śūrāt" into "Śūrāḥ. The Agni simply says (275, 47) that Śūra's son was Vasudeva and daughter was Pṛthā, the wife of Pāṇḍu.

The Kūrma (I, 24, 60) says Deva's son was Śūra and Śūra's son was Vasudeva, the father of Śrīkṛṣṇa. It is evident that the Kūrma has changed Devamīdhuṣa or Devamīdha into Deva. In the Mahābhārata VII, 14.2, 6-7, Gauda recension we find that Devamīdha's son was Śūra and Śūra's son was Vasudeva, the father of Śrīkṛṣṇa. The confusion in some of the Purāṇas is due to the corruptions in the correct line :

अशमक्या जनयामास शूरं वै देवमीदुषम् ।

The Vāyu corrupts this line into

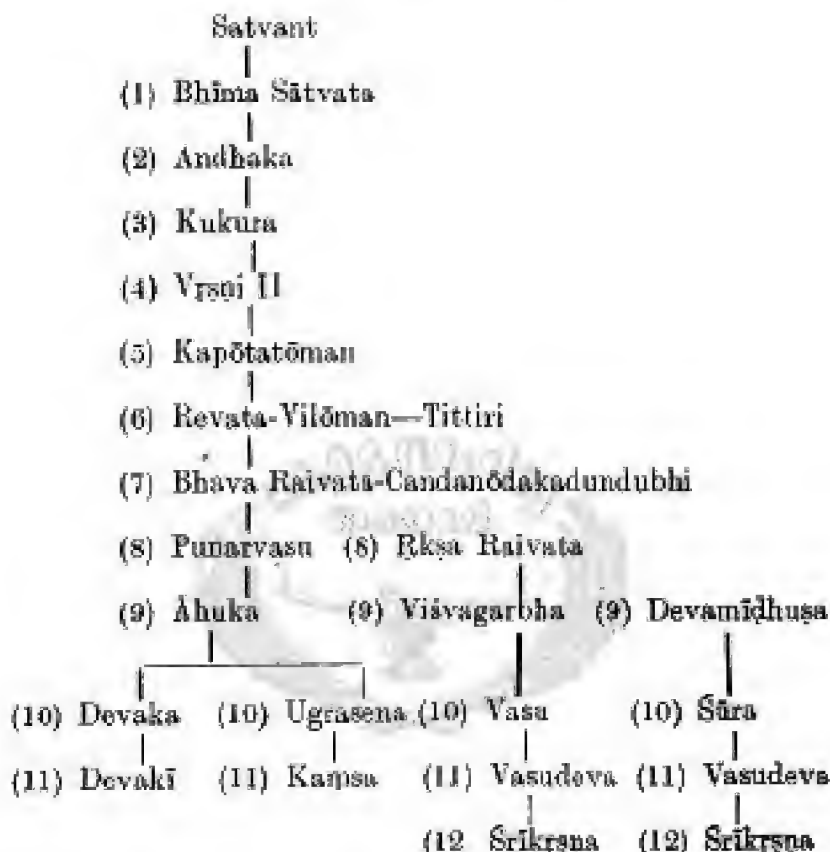
अशमक्या जनयामास शूरी वै देवमीदुषम् ।

In the Brahmāṇḍa this line runs as

अशमक्या जनयामास शूरं वै देवमीदुषम् ।

Thus the Brahmāṇḍa corrects 'Śūro' of the Vāyu into 'Śūram' but keeps 'Devamīdhuṣam' as it is in the Vāyu. The Matsya says that Śūra was surnamed Adbhūtamīdhuṣa. The line is correctly given only in the Harivamśa. The Viṣṇu is all right so far as the relation between Devamīdhuṣa and Śūra

is concerned. The relation between the two accounts of this portion of the genealogy is shown below :



The commentator while commenting on this second account of the Harivaṃśa about the genealogy of the Sātvatas finds no other way of reconciling the two conflicting accounts than to assume that Vasu who is represented here as the father of Vasudeva was the same as Śūra whom all the Purāṇas as well as the Mahabhārata point out as the father of Vasudeva. If this is granted then Viśvagarbha of the second Harivaṃśa account may also be identified with Devamīdhuṣa of the general Purāṇic account.

To determine the ancestry of Devamīdhuṣa, the father

of Śūra, we observe that the Viṣṇu is confounded in supposing Devamīdhuṣa to have been the son of Kṛtavarman Hārdikya (Va. IV, 14, 7-8). A similar mistake of the Viṣṇu is its tacking the line of Dvinīdha (the brother of Ajamīdha) to Bhallāta, the descendant of Brahmādatta, the Piñcālya (Vide Vs. IV. 19, 13). We know that Kṛtavarman Hārdikya took part in the Mahābhārata war and Śataadhanus or Śata-dhanyan, the son of Kṛtavarman, took the Syamantaka jewel by killing Satrājīt, the father of Satyabhāmā. Hence Kṛtavarman Hārdikya could not have been the father of Devamīdhuṣa, the great grand-father of Śrīkṛṣṇa. This mistake in the Viṣṇu has been faithfully copied by the Bhāgavata and the Kūrma. Let us turn to the other Purāṇas for the ancestry of Devamīdhuṣa.

The Vāyu says (96, 17-18) that Vṛṣṇi had two wives Gāndhārī and Mādri. By Gāndhārī, Vṛṣṇi had Sumitra as his son, while Mādri gave birth to Yudhājit; but she [Sā tu] (produced) Devamīdhuṣa, Anamitra and Śata.

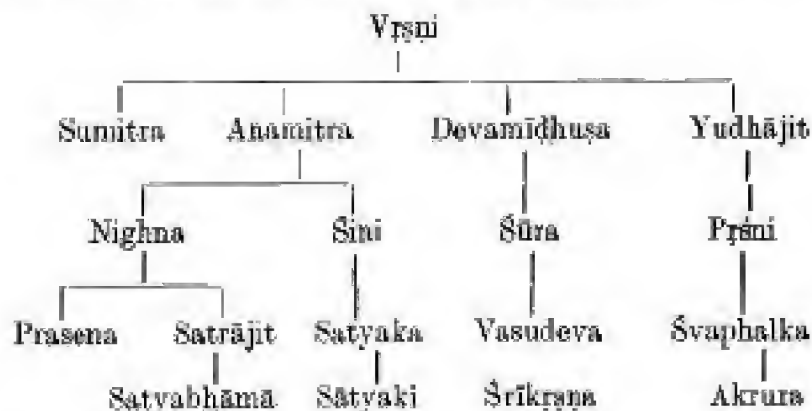
The Matsya (45, 1-2)
says



that Vṛṣṇi had Sumitra by Gāndhārī, and Mādri produced Yudhājit; and then [tato] Devamīdhuṣa, Anamitra, Śini and Kṛtalakṣaṇa. Hence the Matsya seems to support the Vāyu about the ancestry of Devamīdhuṣa. The Harivaṃśa (I, 38, 10-11) corrupts Vṛṣṇi into Krōṣṭr, but afterwards it is all right and supports the Vāyu and the Matsya.

The Brahmāṇḍa (II, 3, 71, 18-19) supports the Vāyu and the Matsya but changes Vṛṣṇi into Dhr̥ṣṭi and Devamīdhuṣa into Mīdvāṇsa.

The ancestry of Śrīkṛṣṇa according to these authoritative Purāṇas would then stand as represented :



Thus Śrīkṛṣṇa falls at the 4th step below Vṛṣṇi who, according to the Purāṇas, was the son of Bhīma Sātvata as we have seen before.

Now we have already found before that Śrīkṛṣṇa Devaki-putra really was 12 generations below Satvant, and hence 10 generations below Andhaka, the brother of Vṛṣṇi. Now we find by counting lineally downwards from Vṛṣṇi that Śrīkṛṣṇa's place is at the 4th step below Vṛṣṇi. What does it show ? It shows that either this Vṛṣṇi is a different Vṛṣṇi or steps have been omitted between Vṛṣṇi and Devamīdhuṣa, and his brothers. The probability is on the side of the latter, as we have it in the Mahābhārata (Gauḍa recension VII, 142, 6-7) that Devamīdhuṣa was the father of Śūra, the grandfather of Śrīkṛṣṇa Vasudeva. As Śrīkṛṣṇa is repeatedly called Vārsneya in the Mahābhārata, we may conclude that he belonged to the line of Vṛṣṇi the son of Bhīma Sātvata and that steps have been omitted between Vṛṣṇi and Devamīdhuṣa.

CHAPTER IV

THE LINEAL DESCENDANTS OF BHĀRGAVA VĪTAHAVYA.

We shall now determine the lineal descendants of Vīta-havya the Haihaya. He was defeated by Pratardana, the king of Kāśī, and took up the profession teaching, as we have seen before. This Kāśī king Pratardana was a bit earlier than of Rāma Dāśarathī. The Rāmāyana has really over-shot the mark a little bit by saying that he was of the same age as Rāma.¹ Bharadvāja the Purōhita of Vadhrasva's² son Divōdāsa, gave Pratardana Daivōdāśī his kingdom and officiated as a priest of Kṣattrasrī, the son of Pratardana.³ Bharadvāja Vājineya was thus the contemporary of all these three kings. This could only be possible had Pratardana been directly the son of Divōdāsa, and this was actually so for we know that Divōdāsa had his heroic son Pratardana by Dṛsadvatī-Mādhavī;⁴ the Vedic Index is unhappily ill-reasoned about it. Grtsamada Śaunahōtra, the adopted son of Vīta-havya Bhārgava mentions the name of Divōdāsa saying that Indra rent the ninety-nine cities of Śambara for Divōdāsa.⁵ He also mentions that Śambara's hundred cities were rent and Varci's many sons were killed.⁶ Garga, the son of Vājineya Bharadvāja, refers to the killing of the two covetous Dāsa chiefs named Varci and Śambara in the country of Udalbraja (Rv. VI, 47, 21) while receiving presents from Divōdāsa and from Prastōka, the son of Śrñjaya (Rv. VI, 47, 22 ; 23 ; 25). Sāyana on Rv. VI, 47, 22 says that Prastōka Śrñjaya was the same

¹ N. Ram. VII, 38, 15. ² Rv. VI, 61, 1. ³ Rv. VI, 26, 8.

⁴ दिवोदासाद्भवत्वां कोटीं जग्मे प्रदत्तः ; Va. 32, 64 ; Brm. II, 49 ; Hv. I, 19, 72. Cf. Gd. Mbl. V, 117, 1-18.

⁵ Rv. II, 19, 6.

⁶ Rv. II, 19, 6.

as Atithigva Divōdāsa and Aśvatha. But Vedic and Purāṇic evidences converge towards proving that Divōdāsa the son of Vadhryaśva was different from Prastōka, the son of Śṛṇjaya. Vadhryaśva's father Mudgala was the son-in-law of the Naiṣadha king Nala; while Śṛṇjaya was the son of Devavāta. Thus we notice that both Gṛtsamada and Garga mention the killing of Varci and Śambara by Divōdāsa. This is exactly what we should expect for Gṛtsamada was the grandson of Bharadvāja and therefore was probably a younger contemporary of Divōdāsa. This will also be confirmed when we proceed with his lineal descendants and mark other synchronisms.

Now the son of Gṛtsamada Vaitahavya is named Sāvai nasa in the Kumbakonam edition of the Mahābhārata (XIII, 8, 61). The Gauda Mahābhārata edited by the Varṅavasi Press (XIII, 3, 61a) has the form Sacotas for his name. Now none of these forms can be accepted. In the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra (II, 8, 10) we find that Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvetasa were the famous Pravaras of some sections of the Bhṛgu, namely, of the Yāskas, Badhaulas, Maunas, Maukas &c. As the patronymic forms are always used in the Pravaras, it is evident that the correct name of the son of Gṛtsamada Vaitahavya is Savetas, and not Sucetas of the

of the Gauda recension, neither	Vitahavya
the corrupt patronymic of the	|
Kumbakonam recension. The	Gṛtsamada
name of the son of Savetas	|
Gārtsamada may of course be	Savetas
patronymically called Sāvetasa.	|
	Varcas Sāvetasa

The Kumbakōnam Mahābhārata has corrupted this patronymic Sāvetasa into Sāvainasa. Savetas whose name has been corrupted into Sacotas in the Gauda recension of the Mahābhārata, had a son named Varcas¹ who may very

¹ Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 61.

well have the patronymic Sāvetasa. Thus it is evident that the Kumbakonam Mahābhārata has omitted the intermediate name Savetas (= Sucetas of the Gauda recension) and has attempted to call Varcas by the patronymic Sāvetasa but even in this attempt it has corrupted the correct patronymic Sāvestasa into Sāvainasa. The Kumbakonam Mahābhārata says¹ that Sāvainasa's son had a son named Vitastya. Thus the Kumbakonam Mahābhārata admits that it omits the name of the son of Varcas-Sāvetasa and father of Vitastya. The Gauda Mahābhārata says² that Varcas had a son named Vihavya and Vihavya's son was Vitatya. It is evident that Vitastya of the Kumbakonam Mahābhārata is the same as Vitatya of the Gauda Mahābhārata, and that the Gauda Mahābhārata has given us the exact name Vihavya for the son of Varcas-Sāvetasa. This Vihavya was the author of the 128th hymn of Maṇḍala X of the Rgveda³. After this the Kumbakonam Mahābhārata says⁴ that Vitastya's son had a son named Sivasta. Thus the Kumbakonam recension admittedly omits the name of the son of Vitastya. The Gauda recension says⁵ that Vitatya's son was Satya and Satya's son was Santas. Thus it is evident that the Kumbakonam Mahābhārata omits Satya and chooses to call Satya's son by the name Sivasta whom the Gauda Mahābhārata calls Santas. The son of Sivasta (= Santas) is

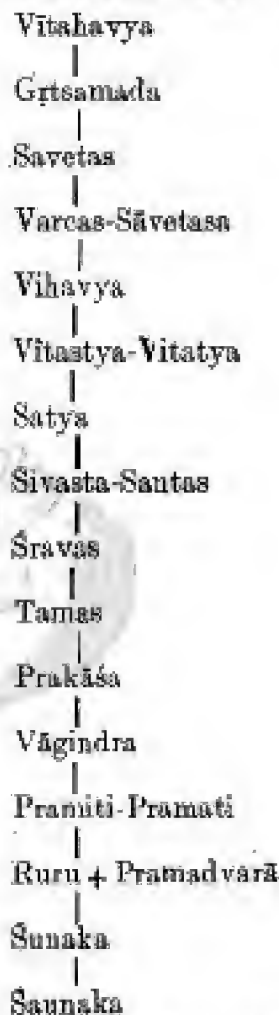
Vitahavya
|
Grtsamada
|
Savetas
|
Varcas-Sāvetasa
|
Vihavya
|
Vitastya-Vitatya
|
Satya
|
Sivasta-Santas

¹ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 8, 62.² Kumb. MBh. XIII, 30, 61.³ Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 61-62.⁴ Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 61.⁵ Sarv. Kram. Rv. X, 128.⁶ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 8, 63; Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 63.

called Śravas in both the recensions¹. After Śravas both the recensions of the Mahābhārata are agreed in naming the successive lineal descendants who were Tamas, Prakāśa, Vāgindra, Vīṭahavya, Pramiti, Ruru and Śunaka and Saunaka².

After adjusting thus the successive lineal descendants of Vīṭahavya Bhārgava, we shall now point out the synchronisms which will confirm the synchronisms adduced heretofore. We notice that Ugrasravas Sauti while relating the history of the Mahābhārata to Kulapati Śaunaka in the Naimiṣa forest says that Pramati, the distant descendant of Cyavana Bhārgava, was the father of Ruru and that Ruru's son, by Pramadvārā, was Śunaka and that this Śunaka was the great grand-father [Pūrvapitāmaha = Prapitāmaha] of Kulapati Śaunaka, his audience.³ There need not be any quarrel over the term 'Pūrvapitāmaha' which simply means 'great grand-father.'

Everytime Janamejaya Pārikṣita asks Vaiśampāyana the question—"what did my Pūrvapitāmahas do after that?" It cannot but be admitted then that Arjuna



¹ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 8, 63-65; Gd. MBh. XIII, 30, 63-65.

² Kumb. MBh. I, 5, 9-10; Gd. MBh. I, 5, 9-10.

was the contemporary of Ruru, as is illustrated in the following table :—

<i>Ruru</i>		<i>Arjuna</i>
<i>Śunaka</i>		<i>Abhimanyu</i>
<i>Śaunaka</i>	<i>Vaiśampāyana</i>	<i>Parikṣit</i>
<i>Śaunaka</i>	<i>Rōmaharṣaṇa</i>	<i>Janamejaya</i>
<i>Kulapati Śaunaka</i>	<i>Urgaśravas</i>	<i>Satānika I</i>

A table showing the relations between the different accounts given in the Kumbakonam and the Gauḍa recensions of the Mahābhārata about the dynasty of Gṛtsamada Vaitahavya is given in the next page.



MBh. Kumb.	Gd. MBh.	Āsval. Śrauta Sūtra.	Accepted.
Vitahavya	Vitahavya	Vitahavya	Vitahavya
Grtsamada	Grtsamada		Grtsamada
o	Sucetas	Savetas	Savetas
Sāvanasa	Varcas	Sāvetasa	Varcas-Save- tasa
The son (unnamed)	Vihavya	—————	Vihavya (The author of Rv. X, 128).
Vitastya	Vitatya		Vitastya-Vitatya
The son(unnamed)	Satya		Satya
S'ivasta	Santas		Sivasta-Santas
S'ravas	Śravas		Śravas
Tamas	Tamas		Tamas
Prakāśa	Prakāśa		Prakāśa
Vāgindra	Vāgindra		Vāgindra
Pramiti	Pramati	—————	Pramiti
Ruru	Ruru	Arjuna	Ruru
Śunaka	S'unaka	Abhimanyu	Śunaka
Śaunaka	S'āunaka	Parikṣit	Śaunaka
Saunaka	S'aunaka	Janamejaya	Saunaka
Kulapati Saunaka	Kulapati S'aunaka		Kulapati Saunaka

With Vitahavya as one down to Ruru, the number of generations is fourteen only.

CHAPTER V.

THE MĀGADHA DYNASTY.

We shall now determine the dynasty that sprang from Kṛta whom we have already seen to have been the contemporary of Daśaratha Ājeya or Divōdāsa Vādhryaśva. This contemporaneity which we deduced from genealogical considerations is admirably confirmed by the Mahābhārata. It says that when Rāma Jāmadagnya, after being exhorted in an assembly of Brāhmaṇas by Parāvasu, the son Raibhya and grandson of Viśvāmītra, began to kill the Kṣatriyas a second time, then, Vatsa, the son of Pratardana Daivōdāsi, Sārvabhauma or Rkṣa, the son of the Paurava king Viduratha, and Dadhivāhana's grandson i. e., Divirtha's son of the dynasty of Aṅga Vāleya, were saved from death¹. This king is called Kṛta in the Vāyu² Kṛmi in the Matsya³, Kṛtaka in the Viṣṇu⁴, Kṛtayajña in the Brahma⁵, Kṛtayaajña in the Harivamśa⁶, Kṛtin in the Bhāgavata⁷. It is related in the Purāṇas that he had to perform many sacrifices before he got a son. The name of this son was Vasu. He was known as Uparicara because people believed that he had an airship [Vimāna] on which he used to ride and travel through the air⁸. He was also known as Caidya which may mean that he belonged to the dynasty of Cedi or that he occupied the country of Cedi. The latter meaning is supported by the Mahābhārata which explicitly calls him a king belonging to the Paurava stock i.e. belonging to the dynasty founded by Puru Yāyāta. [Paurava nandana] and says that he took [Jagrāha] the country of Cedi on the advice of

¹ Gd. MBh XII 49; Kumb. MBh XII 48.

² Va. 99, 219.

³ Mt. 50, 25.

⁴ Vs. 19, 19.

⁵ Brm. 13, 108-2.

⁶ Hv. I, 32, 30.

⁷ Bh. IX, 22, 5.

⁸ Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 19-47.

the Vedic God Indra¹. This means that he was an ardent worshipper of Indra. Mr. Pargiter suggests that Vasu conquered the Vidarbhas in Cedi and started a new line². Mr. Jainath Pati does not accept this theory of Mr. Pargiter and says that Vasu entered a virgin country and founded the Cedi dynasty³. Now this supposition of Mr. Jainath Pati cannot be accepted, as the Rgveda supplies the important information that Brahmātithi, the son of the R̥ṣi Kaṇva, accepted presents from the Cedi king Kaśu⁴. We shall prove when we will take up the early Vedic Age that Brahmātithi, Devātithi, Nīpātithi, Medhyātithi, Medhātithi were all directly the sons of Kaṇva, the son of Ghōra. It was in the hermitage of this Kaṇva (i.e. in Nāḍapit, Śat. Br̥. XIII, 5, 4, 13) that Śakuntalā, the mother of Bharata Daśmanti, was brought up. Besides it should be noticed that Kāṇva Medhātithi, the brother of Brahmātithi, and Priyamedha Āṅgīrasa were the joint authors of Rv. VIII, 2, and the sons of Priyamedha Āṅgīrasa officiated in the sacrifice of Āṅga, the son of Vali, of the dynasty of Anu Yāyāta.⁵ The king Vali, the father of Āṅga, was believed to be Vali Vairōcana of the early Vedic Age, reborn; and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which like the Purāṇas could not rise above the belief in an after-birth, calls Āṅga, the descendant of Virōcana. We indicate here the way in which we shall prove when we will take up the early Vedic Age that being the contemporary of Kāṇva Brahmātithi, the Cedi king Kaśu belonged to the early Vedic Age, and consequently the Cedi dynasty was established at the foot of the Vindhya long before Uparicara Vasu, and that the view of the Purāṇas that the Cedis were a branch of the Vidarbhas cannot at present be doubted. Consequently

¹ Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 2.

² Pargiter's theory quoted by Jainath Pati in J. B. O. R. S. June, 1920, p. 213.

³ J.B.O.R.S. June, 1920, p. 213.

⁴ Rv. VIII, 5, 37; 38.

Ait. Br̥. VIII, 22.

we hold that Mr. Pargiter's theory about the conquest of Cedi by Vasu is not unreasonable. In fact, even before coming across this controversy we took "Jagrāha" of the Mahābhārata to mean "forcibly occupied". The Jaina Harivamśa which is a very late work, written in imitation of the Brahminical Harivamśa, and which contains indelible signs of manufactured names to prove the great antiquity of the Jaina religion, inserts this famous king Vasu as the descendent of Mithilānātha, the king of Videha. The description in the Jaina Harivamśa XV, 67 that the king Vasu died because he sacrificed animals, is also enjoyable. The Cetiya-Jātaka mentions¹ this famous king by the name Upacara or Apacara which is really a corruption or a vulgar form of the correct name Uparicara preserved in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. The Cetiya Jātaka connects this king Upacara with his ancestor Mahāsammata through the successive lineal ancestors Cara, Varamandhātā, Mandhātā, Uposathā Varakalyāna, Kalyāna, Vararōja, and Rōja. Thus the Cetiya Jātaka seems to consider Uparicara as a king belonging to the Ikṣvāku family, for the inclusion of the names Mandhātā &c. raises such a presumption. But this may be pronounced to be a confusion in that Jātaka on the strength of the Mahābhārata which calls him Paurava-Nandana and the Purāṇas follow it up. The Cetiya Jātaka however describes in detail how this king Upacara (= Uparicara) sank down into the earth for persisting to tell a lie to his family priest Kapila, the brother of Kōrakalambaka, and how the five sons of Upacara on the orders of Kapila became the kings of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttara-Pañcāla, and Daddarapura respectively. The Mahābhārata also says² that the king Uparicara had five sons and that they were installed by their father as kings in five different countries.

¹ Cetiya Jataka. No. 422, Book VIII. Cowell's edition Vol. III.

² Kumbh. MBh. I, 64, 42-43.

According to the Mahābhārata these five sons of Uparicara Vasu were Bhadratha the king of the Māgadhas, Pratyagraha, Kuśāmba surnamed Maṇivāhana, Matsilla-Mūvella and Yadu.¹ The Mahābhārata finishes by declaring that these famous five sons of Vasu were the founders of five famous dynasties.² After this the Mahābhārata introduces a ludicrous myth and tries to represent that the mother of Vedavyāsa was the daughter of Uparicara Vasu but this cannot be. In fact, it is admitted in the myth that she remembered that she was the daughter of Vasu in her former birth, as indicated by the as word "Jātismaraṇatā" in the Mahābhārata³. This is also proved by the number of lineal descendants of Bhadratha Vāsava down to Jarāsandha. In fact this attempt has been made in later times to ascribe high connections to Vedavyāsa on the mother's side. After all, the mother of Vedavyāsa was Satyawatī the daughter of a fisherman, and the Mahābhārata in another place (XIII, 53 Ch.) while giving us a list of ancient R̥gis who were born in Vaiśyayōni and Śūdrayōni explicitly mentions⁴ that Vyāsa was born to Satyawatī, the daughter of a Dāśa (i.e. a Śūdra). The Purāṇas which were later than the time of adding this mythological portion about the mother of Vedavyāsa, have been confused in stating that Vasu had seven sons. In reality, Vasu had five sons as described in the first portion of the Mahābhārata account as well as in the Cetiya Jātaka. The Cetiya Jātaka however has forgotten their real names and the places where they settled. The Mahābhārata admirably supports the Cetiya Jātaka in stating⁵ that Vasu sank down into the Rasātala [=the Netherlands] by telling a lie although he performed many sacrifices.

Now we propose to adjust the dynasty that sprang from

¹ Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 43-44.

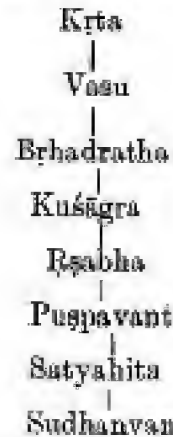
² Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 45-46.

³ Kumb. MBh. I, 64, 114.

⁴ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 53, 19.

⁵ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 9, 36, XII, 344-345 Chh.

Brāhmrātha, the son of Uparicara Vasu. Brāhmrātha's son was Kuśāgra;¹ Kuśāgra's son was Rṣabha;² Rṣabha's son was Puspavant;³ some manuscripts of Matsya corrupt the name of Puspavant into Puṣyavant but the other manuscripts of Matsya spell it as Puspavant. Puspavant's son was Satyahita or Satyadhṛta or Satyadhṛti.⁴ Some manuscripts of the Matsya appear to state that Puspavant's son was Puṇya and his son was Satyadhṛti [पुण्यः पुण्यवत्सैव राजा सद्यधृतिदत्तः] but the other manuscripts of the Matsya put "Putra" instead of 'Puṇya' at the beginning of the line quoted inside the bracket, so that these manuscripts mean that Puspavant's son was Satyadhṛti and this is in agreement with all the other Purāṇas. Hence it may be pronounced that 'Puṇya' there, is a corruption for the correct reading 'Putra'. The Bhāgavata reverses the order and says⁵ that Satyahita's son was Puspavant, but this is a mistake as it is opposed by all the other Purāṇas. Satyahita's son is named Sudhanvan in the Vāyu,⁶ the Viṣṇu⁷ and the Agni;⁸ the Matsya calls him Dhanuṣa.⁹ The Harivaṃśa first corrupts 'Sudhanvā ca' into 'Sadharmātmā' and then separates it into "Sa" and "Dharmātmā."¹⁰ The Bhāgavata omits him. Sudhanvan's



¹ Va. 99, 223; Mt. 50, 28; Hv. I, 32, 93; Brm. 13, 109-5; Bh. IX, 22, 7; Va. IV, 19, 19; Ag. 278, 29.

² Va. 99, 223; Mt. 50, 29; Hv. I, 32, 94; Brm. 13, 109-6; Bh. IX, 22, 7; Va. IV, 19, 19; Ag. 278, 29.

³ Va. 99, 224; Mt. 50, 29; Hv. I, 32, 95; Brm. 13, 109-6; Vs. IV, 19, 19; Ag. 278, 29.

⁴ Va. 99, 224; Mt. 50, 30; Va. IV, 19, 19; Hv. I, 32, 95; Ag. 278, 29.

⁵ Bh. IX, 22, 7.

⁶ Va. 99, 225.

⁷ Vs. IV, 19, 19.

⁸ Ag. 278, 3.

⁹ Mt. 50, 30.

¹⁰ Hv. I, 32, 96.

son is called Urja in the Vāyu,¹ the the Harivamśa² and the Agni.³ He is Jantu in the Viṣṇu,⁴ Jahu in the Bhāgavata,⁵ and Sarva in the Matsya.⁶ Urja's son is called Nabhasa in the Vāyu,⁷ Sambhava in the Matsya,⁸ the Harivamśa,⁹ and the Agni.¹⁰ The Vāyu says¹¹ that Nabhasa's (=Sambhava) son was Jarāsandha. The same is the opinion of the Harivamśa¹² and the Agni¹³. Nilakanṭha while commenting on this verse of the Harivamśa, says that as Bṛhadratha has been mentioned before (i. e. in the Book II of the Mahābhārata) as the father of Jarāsandha, this means that this Sambhava was a surname Bṛhadratha, and thus he was a second Bṛhadratha, or that it may be explained on the ground of *Kramabheda* due to *Kalpabheda*. The Matsya says¹⁴ that Sambhava's son was Bṛhadratha, the two pieces of whose body was jointed by Jarā and hence he was named Jarāsandha. (It seems that the writer of this portion of the Matsya consulted the Mahābhārata which calls the father of Jarāsandha by the name Bṛhadratha in the Sabhāparva). The Viṣṇu puts a full stop after Jantu (=Urja) and says¹⁵ that from Bṛhadratha was born another who was named Jarāsandha as the parts of his body were joined by Jarā. It is evident that the Viṣṇu has consulted the Māhābhārata story of the king Uparicara,

¹ Va. 99, 225.² Hv. I, 32, 96.³ Ag. 278, 3.⁴ Va. IV, 19, 19.⁵ Bh. IX, 22, 7.⁶ Mt. 50, 30.⁷ Va. 99, 225.⁸ Mt. 50, 31.⁹ Hv. I, 32, 93.¹⁰ Ag. 278, 30.¹¹ Va. 99, 226.¹² Hv. I, 32, 97.¹³ Ag. 278, 30-31.¹⁴ Mt. 50, 32-33.¹⁵ Va. IV, 19, 19-20.

one of whose sons was named Bṛhadratha as well as the story of the origin of Jarāsandha in Book II of the Mahābhārata. The Bhāgavata which closely follows the Viṣṇu has risen a step above the Viṣṇu and says¹ that Bṛhadratha, the son of Uparicara Vasu, had Jarāsandha by another wife; that is, it means to say that Bṛhadratha had Kuśāgra by one wife and Jarāsandha by another. But all the Purāṇas are against the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata in this respect and accordingly they may be considered wrong. The exigencies of the genealogical tables in those two Purāṇas also point to the same fact. For in that case how does it stand that while from Kuru through Śudhanvan to Jarāsandha there are only seven steps, from Kuru through Jānu to Pāṇḍu the father of Arjuna there are 17 or 18 steps? It is tentatively assumed at present then that the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata have been confused about Bṛhadratha, the son of Uparicara Vasu, and Jarāsandha's father whom the Mahābhārata calls by the name Bṛhadratha. To explain the statement of the Mahābhārata, note that Drupada-Yajñasena a distant descendant of Sōmaka Sāhadevya, is repeatedly called Sōmaka.² Similarly the father of Jarāsandha who was a distant descendant of Bṛhadratha Vāsava has been called Bṛhadratha in the Mahābhārata. Similarly any descendant of Janaka has been called simply Janaka and any descendant of Ikṣvaku Mānava has been called simply Ikṣvāka in the Purāṇas. There is probably a fourth reason for considering the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata wrong here. Note particularly the Purāṇic statement that there were 32 kings from Bṛhadratha to Ripuñjaya both inclusive and that they reigned for roughly about 1,000 years, and by counting the names given in the Purāṇas we find the number to be actually 32. Had it been otherwise as represented in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata the

¹ Bh. IX, 22, 8.

² Kumb. MBh. I, 110, 4; 11.

number would have been 25. There is a fifth reason for which the Visnu and the Bhāgavata may be considered wrong. Had Jarāsandha and Kuśāgra been the two sons of the first Bṛhadratha (i.e. the son of Vasu Uparicara), then we could naturally except Rṣabha, the son of Kuśāgra Bārhadhratha, or Puspavart, the son of Rṣabha Kauśāgri, to be engaged in the Mahābhārata war like Sahadeva Jarāsandhi. But as a matter of fact, we don't find any mention of them in any connection in the Mahābhārata which relates details about Jarāsandha, Sahadeva, Jayatsena, Dandadhāra, and Megha-sandhi (=Somādhi). This shows that Kuśāgra, Rṣabha &c. were the distant

ancestors of Jarāsan-
dha. Accordingly we
hold with Nīlakaṇṭha
that Nabhaṣa-
Sambhava was the
father of Jarāsandha
on the strength of the
majority of the Purā-
ṇas. Sahadeva thus
belongs to the 13th
step below Kṛta whom
we have seen to have
been the contemporary
of Divōdāsa or Ahalyā
or Daśaratha, because
Kṛta had to perform
many sacrifices before
he got Vasu as his
son, and because Jarā-
sandha was born to
the Bṛhadratha king
Nabhaṣa-Sambhava when the latter was quite advanced in
years.

- | | |
|-----|------------------|
| | Kṛta |
| | |
| 1. | |
| | |
| 2. | Vasu-Uparicara |
| | |
| 3. | Bṛhadratha |
| | |
| 4. | Kuśāgra |
| | |
| 5. | Rṣabha-Bṛabha |
| | |
| 6. | Puspavart |
| | |
| 7. | Satyahita |
| | |
| 8. | Sudhanvan |
| | |
| 9. | Urja |
| | |
| 10. | Nabhaṣa-Sambhava |
| | |
| 11. | |
| | |
| 12. | Jarāsandha |
| | |
| 13. | Sahadeva |

CHAPTER VI.

THE HASTINĀPUR LINE.

Viduratha's sons Sārvabhauma and Rkṣa were, to some extents, contemporary of Divōlāsa or Daśaratha. The Vāyu¹, the Matsya,² the Viṣṇu³ and the Bhāgavata⁴ state that Sārvabhauma's son was Jayatsena. The Mahābhārata which as in its later list (Kumb.MBh.I, 63 ch) represents Sārvabhauma the son of Ahampyāti and which thus transfers Sārvabhauma and his lineal descendants down to Rkṣa towards the earlier period that is beyond our present scope, informs us that Sārvabhauma took away Sundarā, the daughter of the king of Kekaya, by conquest and had, by her, a son named Jayatsena.⁵ This detailed information of the Mahābhārata is true but the carrying up of Sārvabhauma and his lineal descendants down to Rkṣa, is probably defective. We indicate why. Notice that according to this later list of the Mahābhārata, Antyanāra or Rantīnāra or Matināra (for this man is variously named) is the 10th in descent from Sārvabhauma i.e. the 15th descent from Puru Yāyāta. Rantīnāra's daughter Gaurī was the mother of Māndhātā Yauvanāśva. This Māndhātā married Vindumātī, the daughter of Śaśavindu Caitrarathi and Śaśavindu is only the 6th in descent from Yādu Yāyāta. Being descended from the same ancestor Yayāti Nāhuṣa, these positions of Rantīnāra and Śaśavindu are incompatible. Note again that Bharata Daśmanti was crowned with the Aindra-mahābhīṣeka ceremony by Dīrghatamas Māmateya (Ait. Brā. VIII, 23) and this Dīrghatamas begat on the wife of Vali, five sons who were Aṅga.

¹ Va. 99, 231.

² Mt. 50, 39.

³ Va. IV, 29, 3.

⁴ Bh. IX, 22, 10.

⁵ Kumb. MBh. I, 63, 15.

Vaṅga, Kalinga &c. Thus Bharata Daśmanti and Vali of the dynasty of Anu Yāyāta were contemporaries to a certain extent. Now Vali was the 12th in descent from Anu according to the unanimous testimony of all the authoritative Purāṇas, while according to this later list of the Mahābhārata, Bharata Daśmanti becomes the 19th in descent from Puru Yāyāta. But this is objectionable for if Vali was the 12th, Bharata could not have been the 19th. Notice thirdly again that Viśvāmitra, the son of Gathin, was the 12th in descent from Amśvasu, the brother of Āyus Pauravaśa, and his daughter's (=Śakuntalā's) son Bharata should have been the 14th in descent from Āyus; but this later list of the Mahābhārata, places Bharata at the 22nd step below Āyus. Similarly by taking every other dynasty of the early Vedic age it can be proved that this later list of the Mahābhārata is defective. To say that all the other dynasties are incomplete and that this later list of the Mahābhārata is complete is against all reason. In fact, this later of the list Mahābhārata has become lengthened, owing to the mixing up of the various Paurava lines. This fact will be clearer when we shall take up the early Vedic age in future. We may indicate in this connection however that the earlier list of the Mahābhārata (Kumb. MBh I, 88 ch.) is very satisfactory in this respect.

The son of Jayatsena is called Ārādhi in the Vāyu,¹ Ārāvin in the Viṣṇu,² Rucira in the Matsya³ and Rādhika in the Bhāgavata.⁴ The Kumbakonam Mahābhārata says⁵ that Jayatsena had, by Suśravā Vaidarbhi, a son named Aparācīna. The Gauḍa Mahābhārata calls him Avācīna⁶. But both the recensions of the Mahābhārata are agreed in naming the son of Aparācīna-Avācīna as Ariha. It is evident that Ariha of the Mahābhārata is the same as Ārādhi-Ārāvin-

¹ Va. 99, 21.² Vs. IV, 20, 3.³ Mt. 50, 36.⁴ Bh. IX, 22, 10.⁵ Kumb. MBh. I, 63ch.⁶ Gd. MBh. I, 95, 17.

Rādhika-Ruciṛa of the Purāṇas. His son and successor is called Mahābhāuma in the Mahābhārata¹, Māhasattva in the Vāyu², Tatśbhauma in the Matsya.³ The Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata omit Mahābhāuma. But he must be introduced on on the strength of the Vāyu, the Matsyā and the Mahābhārata. Mahābhāuma's son is called⁴ Ayutāyus in the the Vāyu, (Aritāyus in the Matsya,) the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata. The Mahābhārata says⁵ that because the son of Mahābhāuma performed no less than ten thousand human sacrifices therefore he was called Ayutāyāyin. This explodes the objection of R. C. Datta and Rosen who used to think that human sacrifices were not in vogue in the Vedic age, although Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra cited the single but glaring instance of Śunahśepa at the Rājasūya Vāruṇa sacrifice of Hariścandra Traisāṅkava. Not only does the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa give the full account of the attempted sacrifice of Śunahśepa but it also mentions the particular Rk or Rks with which Śunahśepa prayed for his life to Indra, Aśvina, Varuna, Viśvedevāḥ, &c respectively. R. C. Datta is perfectly on the wrong track in doubting the history of Śunahśepa recorded in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. We shall see afterwards that it can be proved from the Rgveda itself that Śunahśepa was actually going to be killed in a sacrifice.

There is yet a third instance of human sacrifice performed by an ancient Indo-Aryan King, namely the sacrifice of Pāriksita Janamejaya who attempted to exterminate the Non-Aryan race of Nāgas by burning them in a sacrifice. In

¹ Kumbh. MBh. I, 63, 18; Gd. MBh. I, 95, 19.

² Vol. 90, 232.

* Me. 50, 36.

* Vn. 99, 232; Mt. 50, 36; Va. IV, 20, 3; Dh. IX, 22, 10.

* इन्द्राक्षरं प्रसिद्धम् । कृष्णमालामयम् । वाक्पुत्रः स्यात्प्रमाणवित् । Kumb. MBl., I.

later times, the Nāga tribe has been confused with snakes and ludicrous myth has sprung into existence. The fourth instance of human sacrifice having been current in ancient India is mentioned during the reign of Candā Pradyōta who flourished about twenty-one generations after Pāriksita Janamejaya. His brother Kumārasena tried to put to stop to the vicious practice which was still in vogue in Ujjein on the occasion of the feast of Mahākālā¹. The buying and selling of human flesh was current even during the time of Harṣavardhana.²

Ayutānāyin married Kāmā, the daughter of Prthuśravas and has a son named Akroḍhana³ by her. Akroḍhana married Karambhā, the daughter of the king of Kālīnga, and Devātīthi⁴ was born to him. The son of Devātīthi is Rea in the Kumbakonam recension of the Mahābhārata⁵, and Ariha in the Gauḍa recension⁶. The Purāṇas omit Rea-Ariha. His son was Rkṣa⁷ who is mentioned in the Purāṇas. The Matsya calls him Dakṣa. After Rkṣa we have⁸ Bhīmasena, Dilīpa and Pratīpa successively in the Purāṇas, while the Mahābhārata confuses this Rkṣa with Rantīnāra's father. Dilīpa of the Purāṇas is probably the same as Pratisutvan, (indicated in the patronymic Prātisutvana) of the Atharvaveda XX. 129, 2 or Pratiśravas of the later list of the Mahābhārata. Pratīpa had, by Sunandā Śaivya, three sons⁹, Devāpi, Śantanu and Bāhlika. The eldest Devāpi being affected with leprosy¹⁰, King Pratīpa was not allowed to install¹¹ him as king because of the opposition of the council of Brāhmaṇas, old men, citizens¹²

¹ Vide my paper on Harṣacarita - Sir A. T. Nookerjee commemoration Volume (Orientalia) ; cf. Harṣacarita ch. VI. ² Harṣacarita ch. V.

³ Gd. MBh. I, 95, 21; Va. 99, 232; Mt. 50, 37.

⁴ Gd. MBh. I, 95, 22; Va. 99, 232; Mt. 50, 37. ⁵ K. MBh. I, 63, 23.

⁶ Gd. MBh. I, 95, 23.

⁷ Va. 99, 233; Mt. 50, 37.

⁸ Va. 99, 233; 234. Mt. 50, 38.

⁹ Gd. MBh. I, 95, 44.

¹⁰ Gd. MBh. V, 149, 14-16.

¹¹ Gd. MBh. V, 149, 17.

¹² Gd. MBh. V, 149, 22.

and villagers. The king became so very sorry that he actually wept¹ for his eldest son. Seeing that his father was powerless in the matter, Devāpi went away² to a forest. The second Bāhlika abandoned all claim to his paternal kingdom and inherited his maternal³ uncle's property i.e. the kingdom of the Śivis, and the youngest Śantanu became the king of Hastināpura with the permission of Bāhlika⁴.

In the Mahābhārata we find⁵ that Valadeva in his travels throughout Uttarāpatha visited the hermitage of Ruṣaṅgu where in former times Ārṣiṣeṇa had applied himself to austerity, and the great sage Viśvāmitra attained Brāhmanahood. This hermitage of Ruṣaṅgu was situated close by the northern bank of the river Sarasvatī, where Ruṣaṅgu was transferred by Brāhmanas and breathed his last⁶. At this famous Sarasvatī Tīrtha, the great Rṣi Ārṣiṣeṇa, Rājarsi Sindhudvīpa, austere Devāpi and the sage Viśvāmitra attained Brāhmanahood⁷.

We have it from the Purāṇas that Ārṣiṣeṇa was the son of Sala who was the second son of Sunahōtra, the ancestor of the Kāśi line⁸, so that Ārṣiṣeṇa belonged to a very early time - which the Mahābhārata confirms by declaring that Ārṣiṣeṇa belonged to the Kṛta age⁹. He applied himself to austerity at the famous Sarasvatī Tīrtha¹⁰, and after

¹ Gd. MBh. V, 149, 23.

² Gd. MBh. V, 149, 26.

³ Gd. MBh. V, 149, 27.

⁴ Gd. MBh. V, 149, 28.

⁵ Gd. MBh. IX, 39, 24.

⁶ Gd. MBh. IX, 39, 29; 32.

⁷ 'सर्वार्थिषेवः कीर्यः साङ्ख्यः संयमनसः ।

सर्वथा सद्गता राजन् पातयन्नुत्तिष्ठन् ॥

विष्णुः कीर्यः राजर्षिर्देवाविशः सद्गतताः ।

साङ्ख्यः सन्नयान् यत निश्चलितज्ञाया मुनिः ॥ Gd. MBh. IX, 39, 35.

⁸ Va. 92, 3; 5.

⁹ इरा कृतयुगे राजन् पार्थिषेयो दिव्योत्तमः ।

यस्य सप्तकुले निवसन् निश्चलमथर्वदे रतः ॥ Gd. MBh. IX, 40, 3.

¹⁰ Gd. MBh. IX, 40, 6.

attaining spiritual success, blessed the place of his success with the following three good wishes:

(i) Any man who would thenceforth bathe in that great river would receive the merit of a horse-sacrifice.

(ii) There would thenceforth be no trouble due to snakes and reptiles.

(iii) A man would receive a large measure of success with a very little effort at that sacred place.

Thus wishing for that Sarasvatī Tirtha, the sage Ārṣṭiṣeṇa departed to heaven. After him, at the same sacred place Sindhudvīpa (the son of Ambariṣa Nābhāgi) and Devāpi attained Brāhmanahood¹. Men who entered the Gōtra or Order of teachers established by Ārṣṭiṣeṇa were generally known as the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas². Devāpi, the son of Pratāpa, because he entered the order of teachers established by the great sage Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, has been called Ārṣṭiṣeṇa Devāpi. In the Rgveda we find³ Devāpi offering up prayers to Bṛhaspati so that the great godhead might be pleased to make clouds rain for King Śantanu. After the hymns were over, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa Devāpi offered oblations to fire, and profuse rains were brought down from the upper regions in the sky⁴. Devāpi on this occasion acted as the priest⁵ of Śantanu and called himself Ārṣṭiṣeṇa Devāpi, the descendant of Manu⁶. Thus from the joint evidence of the Mahābhārata and the Rgveda we conclude that Devāpi and Śantanu were the sons of Pratāpa of the dynasty of Kuru; and that being a leper, Devāpi was debarred from inheritance by the subjects and went away to a forest and entered the Ārṣṭiṣeṇa order of

¹ Gd. MBh. IX. 40, 7; 8.

² गच्छिष्ये तदा तीर्थे विष्णु दीपः प्रदायकाद् ।

देवाविष्णु महादीपान् ब्राह्मण्यं प्राप्नुयिष्यतु ॥ Gd. MBh. IX. 40, 10.

³ यौनकाचारि षोडश स्त्रीदीपान् दिकानयः । Va. 92, 6.

⁴ Rv. X. 98, 1; 3.

⁵ Rv. X. 98, 5; 6.

⁶ Rv. X. 98, 7.

⁷ Rv. X. 98, 8.

teachers. Kauravya Devāpi thus became well-known as Arṣiṣeṇa Devāpi. In the Vedic age anybody born in a particular Gōtra or family could enter a different Gōtra at his own sweet will. Grtsamada Āngirasa, we know, entered the Bhārgava order.

The Bṛhaddevatā supports the main portion of this ancient history but introduces noticeable modifications. There we find¹ in agreement with the Mahābhārata that Arṣiṣeṇa Devāpi and Kauravya Śantanu were brothers belonging to the Kuru family and were the sons of a king. Devāpi was the elder and Śantanu the younger. But the modified Bṛhaddevatā account is that Devāpi being a leper became the son of Rṣiṣeṇa [ऋषिषेणसुतोऽभवत्,] while the Mahābhārata says that Devāpi performed austerities at the hermitage of Arṣiṣeṇa. This necessarily involves us into a controversy between Dr. Sieg and Dr. Macdonell about the priority between the Bṛhaddevatā and the Mahābhārata.

We have seen that the account in the Mahābhārata is in full agreement with the Purāṇas which declare that Arṣiṣeṇa was the son of Śala, the second son of Śunahōtra of the Kāśī line. Thus Arṣiṣeṇa belonged to a very early time and the Mahābhārata in agreement with this Purāṇic account says that Arṣiṣeṇa belonged to the Kṛta age. His descendants and followers were generally known as the Arṣiṣeṇas, according to the Purāṇas. Thus several series of Arṣiṣeṇa teachers continued to flourish to the age of the Mahābhārata. Prātipa's leper son entered this order and became known as Arṣiṣeṇa Devāpi. In compact with the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata further informs us that Devāpi had another brother named Bāhlika in addition to Śantanu. Besides the Mahābhārata improves on the brief treatment of

¹ ऋषिषेणसु देवापि, कौरव्यश्चैव भगवतः ।

भगवती कृत्वत्, खेतो रत्नप्रदो भूवत्, ॥

यो हस्तधोऽय देवापि, कौरव्यश्चैव भगवतः । Br. Dev. VII, 155-156.

the Purāṇas by informing us that their mother's name was Sunandā and that she belonged to the Śivi family.¹ Thus it will be found that there is a general agreement between the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas except in so far as the former supplies us at times with details about the Kuru family which is its special subject to deal with.

Now there is absolutely nothing to impeach the Purāṇic statement that a compendium of Purāṇa or ancient history was, for the first time, culled from various sources by Pārāśarya Vyāsa² and that he entrusted this original collection of ancient history to his Sūta disciple named Lōmahargaṇa. This history of past events began to be related to assemblies of R̥sis from Satra to Satra and thus the propagation of Purāṇic knowledge went on throughout the country. Out of that original collection which comprised of descriptions of various dynasties, have been evolved the different Purāṇas such as the Vāyu, the Matsya, the Viṣṇu, &c. which we now possess. The explicit statement³ in the Purāṇas that descriptions of various dynasties were listened to by an assembly of R̥sis while they were holding, for two years, a long, difficult, three-year Satra at Kurukṣetra on the bank of the river Dr̥śadvatī at a time when the Paurava King Adhishmakṣṇa, the Bārhadratha King Senajit and the Aiksvāka King Divākara were simultaneously ruling their own kingdoms, proves beyond doubt that the dynastic lists existed eighteen generations before the time of Caṇḍa Pradyōta of Ujjain or Bīmbi-

¹ Gā. MBh. I, 95, 44.

² पाश्चात्तैवायु पाश्चात्तैवोवाभिः कल्पविधिभिः ।

इरावसंहिता तस्मै इरावसं विचारदः ॥

प्रख्यातो वासविष्णोऽभूत् सृष्टौ वै दीनद्वयैव ।

इरावसंहिता तस्मै दत्तौ वासो वदामुभिः ॥ Va. III, 6, 16-17; Va. 69, 21

Va. I, 24-25; Bh. I, 1, 7

³ Va. 39, 258; 259; Mt. 50, 66; 67; Cf. also Va. I, 11-29; Va. 99, 282; Va. 99, 299-300; Mt. 271, 23.

sāra of Magadha. Besides, it is sufficiently realisable on general grounds that the dynastic lists, as we now possess them in the Purāṇas, cannot be built up off-hand at a particular point of time in a later period had they not been begun to be collected from a very early time. It will thus be abundantly clear that the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas are more ancient than the time of composition of the Bṛhaddevatā which according to Prof. Macdonell himself, cannot go earlier than 500 B. C. There is yet another ground for driving at the same point. We know that the famous Gāthās preserved in Brāhmaṇas like the Aitareya and the Śatapatha about famous kings and Rṣis of old, are older than the Brāhmaṇas themselves. The Anuvāṇśa Ślōkas preserved in the dynastic lists of the Mahābhārata as well as the Purāṇas, being of the same nature as the Gāthās of the Brāhmaṇas and having been composed by the Sūtas and Purāṇajñas of old, are older than the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas and therefore certainly older than the Bṛhaddevatā. Accordingly the author of the Bṛhaddevatā really means by the remark "ऋद्धिष्यसुतोऽभवत्" that Śantana's brother Devāpi became the adopted descendant of Rṣiṣeṇa i.e. was enlisted in the order of teachers established by Ārṣiṣeṇa. 'Ārṣiṣeṇa' was Devāpi's Gōtra title and not directly patronymic. It will be found that in the Paurava genealogy, none of Devāpi's ancestors had the name Rṣiṣeṇa whose existence would have justified the name Ārṣiṣeṇa for Devāpi. Professor Macdonell's contention that because the Bṛhaddevatā mentions only two brothers and because the Mahābhārata introduces Bāhlika as the third brother therefore the latter has borrowed from the former, has no reason to stand upon. Why should the Bṛhaddevatā bother itself about the third brother Bāhlika? It has got to deal with only those persons who are mentioned in the hymns of the Rgveda and the authors of these hymns and the circumstances under which these hymns have been composed.

Bāhlika is neither mentioned in any hymn nor has he composed any hymn. Bahlika is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII, 9, 3, 3,) as a Kauravya King and as the son of Pratipa. The form 'Prātīpiya' is neither 'curious' nor 'remarkable' as we have the epithet 'Pārikṣitīyas [= sons of Parikṣit] applied to Janamejaya and his brothers Śrutasena, Bhīmasena and Ugrasena in the same Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 3.) Neither has any harm been done by the Brāhmaṇa in its spelling it as 'Prātīpiya' instead of as 'Prātipiya' for both the forms 'Pratipa' and 'Pratīpa' were in vogue. The Professor's third contention that because the Mahābhārata form is Śāntanu instead of Śantanu therefore priority should be conceded to the Bṛhaddevatā, is also ill-founded. Variant forms of the names of persons are very common in the Purāṇas. These are due to the Sūtas who related the Purāṇas and the scribes who re-wrote them time after time. It should be recognized however that Śāntanu is the correct form being sanctioned by the R̥gveda and followed up by the Vāyu, and almost always the Kumbakonam recension of the Mahābhārata, while the Gauda Mahābhārata form Śāntanu must be ascribed to those Sūtas and scribes whose special province was to deal with that particular recension. Accordingly we conclude that (i) the Mahābhārata although certainly increased in volume by later contributions, has its description of the Paurava dynasty more ancient than the date of the Bṛhaddevatā; and that (ii) the Mahābhārata form 'Ārṣṭiṣeṇa' being sanctioned by the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas¹ and supported by the R̥gveda² is the original one; and that (iii) the form R̥ṣṭiṣeṇa, from which has been derived the word 'Ārṣṭiṣeṇa' patronymically by Sanskrit grammar, was the real name of Śala. Thus Ārṣṭiṣeṇa was a Gōtra title exactly like Kauśika, Vāsistha, Śaunaka, Rāthītara,

¹ Gd. MBh. IX, 33, 24; 35; 40, 5; III, 158; 159; 160; 161.

² Va. 92, 3; 5.

³ Rv. X, 98, 6; 6; 8.

Bhārgava, and that Gōtra was established by Ārṣiṣeṇa the son of Śala, (=Rṣiṣeṇa) in the Kṛta age.

The latter part of the story in the Bṛhaddevatā runs thus. After the death of their father, the subjects approached Devāpi and requested him to become their king, but he said that he did not deserve the kingdom and that Śāntanu should be their king. On this, the subjects installed Śāntanu as their king and Devāpi went to the forest.

Thus according to both the Bṛhaddevatā¹ and the Mahābhārata², Śāntanu became the king after the death of Prātīpa, but the Bṛhaddevatā supplies the important information that at the death of their father, the subjects were in favour of Devāpi's installation. Śāntanu however, became the king with the permission of Devāpi as well as Balhika. Then there was the twelve-year drought during the reign of Śāntanu who, thereupon with his subjects, approached Devāpi again and requested him to take charge of his kingdom. Devāpi again refused but performed sacrifices to remove the drought³. The same account is supplied by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁴ and as we have seen, the same is supported by the R̥gveda which informs us that Devāpi performed sacrifices for Śāntanu. Let us turn back to our point.

Śāntanu Prātīpa was a skilled physician, and was, for this reason, surnamed 'the great Bhiṣak'⁵ (=Mahābhiṣak). His reputation as a Bhiṣak or physician was so very great that people believed whoever was touched by him, be he a

¹ Br. Dev. VII, 157-VIII, 1-2.

² वाङ्मनीकेन वसुधातः, वसन्तुर्लोकविभुतः ।

विलसुं परजे राजान् राजा राज्यकारणम् ॥ Cat. MBh. V, 149, 28.

³ Br. Dev. VIII, 2-6.

⁴ Bh. IX, 22, 14-17.

⁵ वसन्तु रथमहाता विद्वान् स वै महामिषम् ।

इत्यस्मीदाहृत्याय जीवं प्रति मर्यामिषम् ॥

यं यं कराम्बां सृजति जीवं रोगिणश्चैव ।

इत्यस्यैवा य भवति तस्मात् स वसन्तुं विदुः ॥ M. 50, 42-43; Va. 39, 237-38.

chronic sufferer, was re-established in the health of a young man. It has escaped the notice of all the previous enquirers including even Śaunaka the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā* that the *R̥gveda* contains the compositions of Śantanu. The great Bhiṣak composed the 97th hymn of Maṇḍala X, and this composition of him has been inserted just before that of Devāpi.

Sūktas composed by members of the same family were intentionally placed together by the great Vyāsa. Śantanu's sons, by Dīśeyī Satyavati, were Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya and it is wellknown that on the latter's wives Ambikā and Ambālikā, Pārāśarya Vyāsa begat Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu respectively. Pāṇḍu's Kṣetraja sons were the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Now counting up the number of steps from Sārvabhauma Vaidurathi to Arjuna Pāṇḍava, we get the number sixteen.

It may be thought necessary to speak a few words on the attitude of the Brahma the Harivaṃśa and the Agni. They say¹ that Viduratha's son was Rkṣa. It is quite probable that this Rkṣa, the son of Viduratha became the king under the name Sārvabhauma, or it may as well be that Rkṣa was the brother of Sārvabhau-

ma In fact, these statements of these Purāṇas cannot be explained away by saying that

- | | |
|------|--------------|
| | Viduratha |
| | |
| | Sārvabhauma |
| | |
| (1) | Jayatsana |
| | |
| (2) | Aparācina |
| | |
| (3) | Ariha |
| | |
| (4) | Mahabhauma |
| | |
| (5) | Ayutānāyin |
| | |
| (6) | Akrōdhana |
| | |
| (7) | Devātithi |
| | |
| (8) | Rca-Ariha |
| | |
| (9) | Rkṣa |
| | |
| (10) | Bhīmasena |
| | |
| (11) | Dilipa |
| | |
| (12) | Pratipa |
| | |
| (13) | Śantanu |
| | |
| (14) | Vicitravīrya |
| | |
| (15) | Pāṇḍu |
| | |
| (16) | Arjuna |

¹ Hv. I, 32, 103; Brm. 13, 111; Ag. 273, 33.

Rkṣa was a distant descendant of Viduratha in as much as this fact is attested in a reliable place of the Mahābhārata which says¹ that the son of Viduratha was brought up by the Rkṣas in the Rkṣavant mountain and the implication is that he was named Rkṣa. The probability is that this Rkṣa, the son of Viduratha, was different from Sārvabhauma. Now it is stated² in the Harivaṃśa the Brahma and the Agni that this Rkṣa's son was Bhīmasena and that Bhīmasena's son was Pratipa, but the exigencies of the genealogical table show that there is a gap between Bhīmasena and Pratipa.

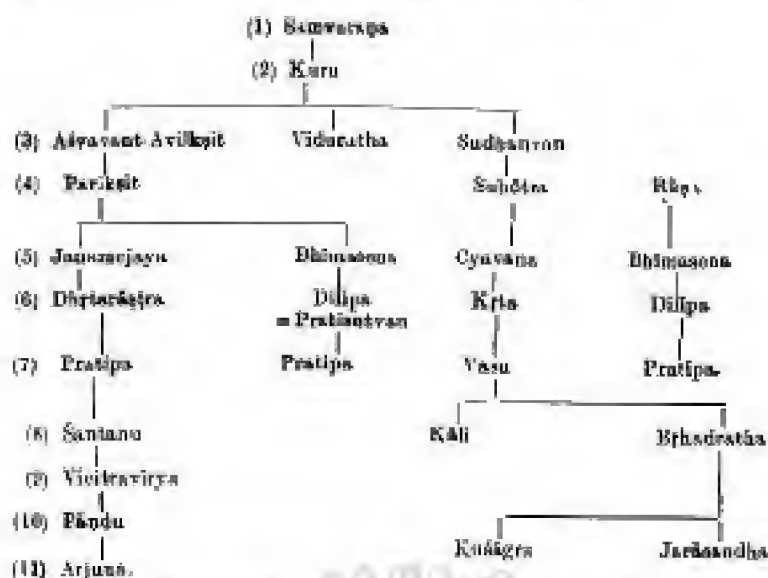
It is important to consider the informations supplied by the Mahābhārata in this respect. The Mahābhārata gives us two conflicting lists of kings of the Paurava dynasty. The earlier or rather the older of the two lists is admittedly the one given in the 94th chapter of the First Book of the Gāṇḍa recension. This chapter has been separated into two, namely the 88th and the 101st chapters in the Kumbakonam recension. The later list of the Paurava kings is given in the 63rd chapter of Book I in the Kumbakonam recension. The same is given in the 95th chapter of Book I of the Gāṇḍa recension. The later list is definite (whether correct or not) about the kings intermediate between Kuru and Pratipa. According to this later list, these intermediate kings were Viduratha, Anasvant, Parikṣit and Bhīmasena, successively³. The older list is not fully clear about these intermediate kings,⁴ and we have taken the verses concerned to mean the intermediate kings as Aśvavānt-Avikṣit, Parikṣit, Janamejaya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. However combining the evidences of the Harivaṃśa, the Brahma and the Agni with those derived from the two lists of the Mahābhārata the Kuru genealogy would stand thus:

¹. Kumb. MBh. XII, 48, 82; Gd. MBh. XII, 48, 76.

². Hv. I, 32, 105-106; Brm. 13, 113-114; Ag. 276, 33.

³. Gd. MBh. I, 95, 39-44; Kumb. MBh. I, 63, 42-46.

⁴. Gd. MBh. I, 94, 56-60; Kumb. MBh. I, 101, 38-48.



Thus according to these Mahābhārata lists, Arjuna becomes the 11th with Samvarana as the 1st. Now if we suppose that the Pāncālyā king who invaded Hastināpura and defeated Samvarana was no other than Sudās Paijavana even then the contention of our thesis is supported. For in that case taking Samvarana to be a younger contemporary of Sudās Paijavana and remembering that Santanu or Pāṇḍu became fathers when they were advanced in years, it may be conceded that Arjuna belonged to the 11th step below Sudās Paijavana i.e. to the 12th step below Pijavana or Daśaratha or Divōdāsa. If according to the Mahābhārata, there were only four steps between Kuru and Pratipa, then and only then, the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata would be held as correct when they state that Vasu's daughter Kālī was married to Santanu and that Jarāsandha's father was the first Bhadratha, the son of Vasu. This is illustrated in the above table. However this hinges on the correctness of the Mahābhārata account regarding the succession between Kuru and Pratipa. The account of the succession however is obscure, still we have added this alternative adjustment as it is not opposed to the contention of our thesis.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NORTHERN PĀNCĀLAS.

The dynasty that sprang from Divōdāsa, the son of Vadhryaśva, as given in the Purāṇas is defective and incomplete. The Purāṇas inform¹ us that the successor (=Dāyāda) of Divōdāsa was Mitrayu. The Vāyu says² that Maitreya was born after Mitrayu, and that *they* entered the Bhārgava order. It should be noticed that the use of the plural "they" here is unwarranted as there is no plural noun before it for which it may stand. The Harivaṃśa says³ that after Mitrayu, Sōma Maitrāyana was the king and his sons were the Maitreyas, and they entered the Bhārgava order. Now it may be inferred that the Vāyu has omitted one step rightly filled up by the Harivaṃśa. The same inference is confirmed by the statement in the Matsya which says⁴ that after Mitrayu, that Maitrāyanavara became the king. The Matsya after this, corrupts the reading by using the singular number in 'Maitreya.' Accordingly we adjust the dynasty to this as represented. After finishing with the Maitreyas who entered the Bhārgava order of teachers, the Vāyu says that Cyavana comes after Maitreya and Cyavana's son was Sudāsa⁵. In the Rgveda we find that Sudāsa's father was Pijavana.⁶ The historian of ancient



¹ Va 99, 206; Mt 50, 13; Va IV, 19, 13; Bh IX, 22, 1; Hv I, 32, 35.

² Va 99, 206.

³ Hv. I, 32, 36.

⁴ Mt. 50, 15.

⁵ Va. 99-206-208.

⁶ इह मनु ईशवसः ऋषी गोदां यथा बभूवन्ता सुताम् ।

चर्द्धादौ वैजयन्ता दानं ददौ च तदा पर्यन्ति वैश्वानरम् — Rv. VII, 18, 22.

India can at once catch that the line beginning with ' राजापि चवनो ' in the Vāyu 99, 207b was been corrupted as such by the copyists; and that the correct form originally ran as ' राजा पिजवनो '. The word ' पिजवन ' was corrupted into पिचवन at an intermediate stage, the confusion having been between च and ज. At this stage, it was supposed that चवन was the real name and that therefore ' पि ', was erroneously supposed to be remnant of the indeclinable ' अपि ', and was tacked on to ' राजा ' by vowel combination. Similarly the line below beginning with चव वै चवनाहीमान् should run as चव पिजवनाहीमान्. When this fact is fully realised, it will be easy to understand how this name Pijavana has been corrupted in the other Purāṇas. The Matsya says¹ that Sudāsa was the son of Caidyavara. It is easy to recognise that "Pijavana" has been corrupted into "Caidyavara" in the Matsya. Mark how curiously corrupted is this reading of the Matsya. We have just seen before that the Vāyu after finishing with the Maitreyas starts with Pi-Cyavana (=Pijavana) saying that then the unrivalled Pi-cyavana became the king' [Rājā Picyavanō Vidvān tatō' pratirathō' bhavat]. It will be admitted that the Vāyu after finishing with the Maitreyas begins with another branch and starts with Pijavana saying 'tatō'. The writers of the Matsya without understanding this attitude of the Vāyu erroneously suppose² that Caidyavara (=Pijavana) was the son of Maitreya. The error of the Matsya is corrected by the Harivaṃśa, the Brahma, and the Agni although the readings in the latter are corrupt. The Harivaṃśa after finishing with the Maitreyas as do the Vāyu and the Matsya, starts with 'Pañcajana' saying that Pañcajana was the son of Sṛñjaya³. It may be easily inferred that this 'Pañcajana' of the Harivaṃśa stands for 'Picyavana' of the Vāyu and 'Caidyavara' of the Matsya. Thus the

¹ Mt. 50, 15.² Mt. 50, 14.³ Hv. I, 32, 77.

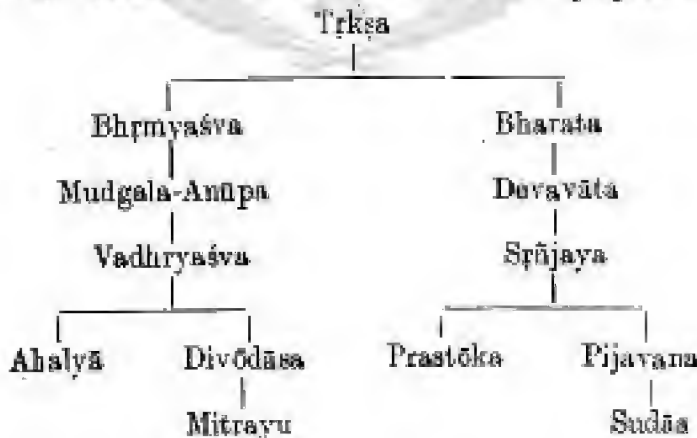
Harivamśa supplies the important information that Pijavana was the son of Srījaya. After this the Harivamśa says that Sōmadatta was the son of Pañcājana. This 'Sōmadatta' is nothing but a corrupt substitute for 'Sudās' of the Vāyu and the Matsya, for his successor was Sahadeva according to both the Vayu¹ and the Harivamśa²; and his father Pijavana has been evidently called 'Pi-cyavana' in the Vāyu and 'Pañcājana' in the Harivamśa. The same remarks which apply to the Harivamśa apply to the Brahma also, for the Brahma agrees word for word with the Harivamśa. The Agni which is a very late Purāṇa further corrupts the name and substitutes³ Pañcadhanuṣa for Pañcājana of the Harivamśa and the Brahma (= Pi-cyavana of the Vāyu = Pijavana of the R̥gveda). The Bhāgavata⁴ and the Viṣṇu⁵ make him Cyavana for the separation of 'Pi' and 'Cyavana' in the Vāyu. The genealogy of the portion described so far is represented thus :



Pijavana, the father of Sudās, was according to the Harivamśa, the Brahma and the Agni the son of Srījaya. In the R̥gveda we find Vasiṣṭha, the priest of Sudās Pijavana, speaking of Divōdāsa as the father [Pita-

¹ Va. 99, 208.² Hv. I, 32, 78.³ Brm. 13, 98-99.⁴ Ag. 278, 23.⁵ Bh. IX, 22, 1.⁶ Va. IV, 19, 18.

ram] of Sudas¹. We have already found² that Sudās in the Rgveda is spoken of as the son of Pijavana. Combining these two Sāyana states³ that Pijavana was another name of Divōdāsa. But this attitude of Sāyana does not seem reasonable, for we have already seen that Divōdāsa was the son of Vadhryaśva as affirmed by Bharadvāja Vājineya and as evidenced by the Purāṇas; and Vadhryaśva again was the son of Mudgala Bhārmyaśva (= Anūpa) by Indrasenā Nālāyani; while Sṛñjaya, the son of Devavāta, was the father of Prastōka and Suplan (= Sahadeva); and according to the Harivaṃśa, the Brahma and the Agni, of Pijavana. If according to Sāyana we identify Pijavana with Divōdāsa and Prastōka with Divōdāsa (Rv. VI, 47, 22) then Divōdāsa's father Vadhryaśva, will have to be identified with Sṛñjaya, the father of Prastōka and Pijavana, and Sṛñjaya's father Devavāta will have to be identified with Vadhryaśva's father Mudgala-Anūpa and Mudgala's father Bhārmyaśva will have to be identified with Devavāta's father Bharata. But all these identifications would be preposterous.



¹ दृष्टं नरी मरुतः सप्तहासु दिवोदासं न वितरं भुदासः ।

अद्विष्टना येनवनस्य केतं दृष्ट्वाः सप्तमनरं दुरोधम् ॥ —Rv. VII, 18, 25.

² हे ननु देववतः, अति मोदी एषा दध्मन्ता सुदासः ।

अध्वन्तये येनवनस्य दानं कीलेन सप्त पर्याणि रीमन् ॥ Rv. VII, 18, 22.

³ दिवोदास इति विजयनस्यैव नामान्तरम् ।—Say. on Rv. VII, 18, 25.

The Purāṇas too, treat them as different persons. But then Rv. VII, 18, 25 requires to be explained. We notice that Divōdāsa, the brother of Ahalyā, was the uncle (Pitṛvya) o Sudās as indicated, in the genealogical table. In many places in our ancient literature, the uncle [Pitṛvya] is called the father [Pitar]. For example, Bhīṣma Śāntanava speaks of his uncle Bāhlika as his father. Hence the word 'Pitaram' in the Rgveda VII, 18, 25 may be taken in the sense of 'Pitṛvyam'. In addition to Prastōka and Pijavana there were sons born to Śrījaya. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹ we find that Nārada and Parvata spoke about the edibles of a fighter to Sōmaka Sāhadevya (=the son of Sahadeva); Sōmaka spoke about it to Sahadeva Śārījaya (=the son o Śrījaya i.e. to his father Sahadeva spoke about it to Babhru Daivāvṛdha (= the son of Devāvṛdha and so on. As 'Daivāvṛdha' and 'Sāhadevya' mean the son of Devāvṛdha' and 'the son of Sahadeva' respectively Śārījaya' here means by analogy directly 'the son of Śrījaya.' In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa² we find that Suplan Śārījaya went to Pratidarśa Aibhāvata³ (=the son of Ibhāvata) and learnt from him the method of performing the Dākṣāyana and Sautrāmaṇi sacrifices. When Suplan came back to his country i.e. the country of the Śrījayas, the people became very glad to have their king back and used to say that Suplan had come back with the Devas. Accordingly Suplan was surnamed Sahadeva. He instituted a grand sacrifice on the bank of the Sarasvatī at the famous Agnisiras Tirtha where he had a spacious altar constructed for it.⁴ The spot where Sahadeva performed more sacrifices lay close by the Yamunā⁵. He was probably different from Sahadeva Vārāṅgira who Subdued the Śīmyus and Dasyus⁶.

¹ Gd. MBh. XIII, 41, 23.² Ait. Bra. VII, 31.³ Sat. Bra. II, 4, 3; 4.⁴ Sat. Bra. XII, 8, 2, 3.⁵ Gd. MBh. III, 90, 5; Kumb. MBh. III, 98, 5.⁶ Kumb. MBh. II, 86, 7; Gd. MBh. III, 90, 7.⁷ Rv. I, 100, 17.

The Purāṇas mention Sahadeva after the variously named Sudās Paijavana,¹ and the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu even use the patronymic Saudāsa for 'Sahadeva',² but the patronymic here, as in many other cases, is used in the sense of 'a successor of'. After all, Sahadeva was directly the son of Śrījaya and Sudās was the son of Pijavana Śārījaya. Suplan-Sahadeva was thus the uncle of Sudās Paijavana. After the downfall of Sudās,³ his uncle Sahadeva became the ruler of the Northern Pāñcālas.

It was in February 1918, that I informed my learned colleague Professor Vanamali Vedāntatīrtha, M. A. that the Pāñcāla Sudāsa, the son of Pi-cyavana of the Vāyu could be no other than the Rgvedic Sudās, the son of Pijavana. In July 1920, I requested the Registrar of the Calcutta University to help me with the library copy of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1910, where, I was told, Mr. Pargiter had contributed an article on Indian Antiquities. I find there to my agreeable surprise that Mr. Pargiter has also identified the Pāñcāla Sudāsa with the Vedic Sudās, although he has said nothing about 'Picyavana' of the Vāyu and although his Pāñcāla genealogy is faulty in character for many reasons. Thus our independent findings mutually supporting each other prove beyond doubt that the Rgvedic king Sudās Paijavana was the Pāñcāla king in the Purāṇic list, and that the stray attempt of Dr. Surendranath Sen to identify the Vedic Sudās with the Aikṣvāka Sudāsa, the father of Kalmāṣapāda,⁴ is clearly a failure. Similarly, the attempt of Babu Suvimala Chandra Sarkar to identify Sudās Paijavana with Raghu, the great grand-father of Rāma Dāśarathi⁵, is a guess pure and simple, which can claim no serious attention of scholars.

¹ Va. 99, 208; Va. IV, 19, 18; Bh. IX, 22, 1; &c.

² Va. 99, 208; Va. IV, 19, 18, &c.

³ Manu VII, 41; cf. also VIII, 110.

⁴ Dacca Review May 1915.

⁵ Dacca Review June 1912.

To fix the position of Sudās Paijavana on the genealogical table we note the following points :—

(i) He was the son of Pijavana (=Picyavana of the Vāyu =Pañcājana of the Harivamśa, the Brahma &c.) whom the Harivamśa and the Brahma represent as the son of Śrījaya.

(ii) The Rgveda¹ mentions Divōdāsa as the father [Pitarām] of Sudās. Here Pitar may mean the father, the uncle, or any forefather.

(iii) The Rgveda² mentions Sudās as the grandson of a Devavant (=attended with the gods) king and as the son of Pijavana. Here Devavant is probably a surname of Śrījaya. Compare Āsvavant, Harivant, Gōmant &c., in the Rgveda.

(iv) Combining the latter two, Sāyana says that Divōdāsa was another name of Pijavana. But in this respect we have differed from him giving reasons. But if it is maintained in defence of Sāyana that Śrījaya adopted Divōdāsa as his son, then we have no objection, for adoption was prevalent during the Rgvedic period. But this is not the attitude of Sāyana. For he says while commenting on Rv. VI, 47, 22, that Prastōka Sārījaya (=the son of Śrījaya) had all the three different names Divōdāsa, Āsvatha, and Atithigva. But the Rgveda (VI, 61, 1) and all the Purāṇas are unanimous in stating that Divōdāsa was the son of Vadhryaśva. The Purāṇas add that the famous Ahalyā was the sister of Divōdāsa, and her father Vadhryaśva, according to the joint evidence of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, was the son of Mudgala Bhārmyaśva by Indrasenā, the daughter of Naiṣadha Naḍa. The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa calls him Vadhryaśva Ānūpa³ (i. e. the son or a descendant

¹ Rv. VII, 18, 25.

² Rv. VII, 18, 22.

³ अथर्व वेदकाय ब्राह्मण, अथर्व वेदकायब्राह्मण ॥—Pañc Brm. XIII, 3, 17.

of Anūpa). It is very probable that Anūpa was a surname of Mudgala or an ancestor of his. Accordingly we suggest that Prastōka, Divōdāsa and Pijavana should be considered as different persons, as indicated by the Purāṇas. Whatever may be the truth about the whole affair, this much is certain that Sudās belongs to a step below Divōdāsa or Prastōka or Pijavana. That is, Sudās belongs to the second step below Śrījaya.

(v) We have already seen that Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna (=the son of Cāyamāna) and Prastōka Śrījaya (=the son of Śrījaya) being defeated by the Vāraṅkhas in fight, approached Bharadvāja Vājineya. Now we find that Kavi Cāyamāna (=the son of Cāyamāna, was killed in the battle of Paruṣṇī.¹ where Sudās, the son of Pijavana Śrījaya, defeated ten kings arrayed against him. It is evident then Kavi was the brother of the Emperor Abhyāvartin and that he was against Sudās in this battle. Accordingly the position of Sudās on the genealogical table cannot but be the first step below Divōdāsa or Ahalyā or Daśaratha Aikṣvāka.

(vi) Sixthly for the position of Sudās Pijavana, we observe that Nārada, Parvata and Arundhatī were descended from a certain Kaśyapa² who, we may assure our readers at this stage, was not the same as the son-in-law of Dakṣa Pracetasa. This Kaśyapa, we shall prove when we will take up the early Vedic Age, was a second Kaśyapa, the father of Avatsāra. This Nārada who belonged to the Kaśyapa family gave Arundhatī in the marriage to Vasiṣṭha.³ Vasiṣṭha got his famous son Śakti by Arundhatī⁴ and Śakti had his son Parāśara by Adrīyanti.⁵ We know that young Parāśara, hearing from his mother Adrīyanti that his father

¹ Rv. VII, 18, 8.

² Va. 70, 79.

³ Va. 70, 80.

⁴ Va. 70, 83.

⁵ Va. 70, 83.

Śakti had been killed by a Rākṣasa set on by Viśvāmitra, arranged for a Satra to exterminate all Rākṣasas¹ and was ultimately dissuaded from doing it by his grand-father Vasiṣṭha. This Rākṣasa was no other than the Ikṣvāku king Kalmāṣapāda who had been rendered as such when a Rākṣasa named Kiṅkara entered his body at the bidding of Viśvāmitra, the enemy of Vasiṣṭha.² This Kalmāṣapāda was, according to the Purāṇas³ the third in descent from Rtu parna, the friend of Mudgala's father-in-law Nala. Now mark in the R̥gveda that Vasiṣṭha, the priest of Sudāsa, was, out of contempt, called a Yātudhāna by his enemy Viśvāmitra,⁴ and that in retaliatory reply to it Vasiṣṭha called the followers of Viśvāmitra contemptible Rākṣasas and prayed to Indra and the Maruts to kill these Rākṣasas⁵ and wished for the death of his enemy Viśvāmitra.⁶ The truth now dawns on the historian that Kalmāṣapāda, the Ikṣvāku king, because he was the follower of Viśvāmitra and killed Śakti at the bidding of the latter, has been depicted as a great Rākṣasa in the Mahābhārata, a work originally performed by a descendant of Vasiṣṭha, the enemy of Viśvāmitra. The strong presumption is then inevitable that Vasiṣṭha, the priest of Sudāsa, was the same Vasiṣṭha whose son Śakti was killed by the Ikṣvāku king Kalmāṣapāda; because the follower of Viśvāmitra has been called a Yātudhāna or Rākṣasa both in the R̥gveda and the Mahābhārata.

¹ Gd. MBh. I, 181 ch.; Va. I, 1, 17 &c.

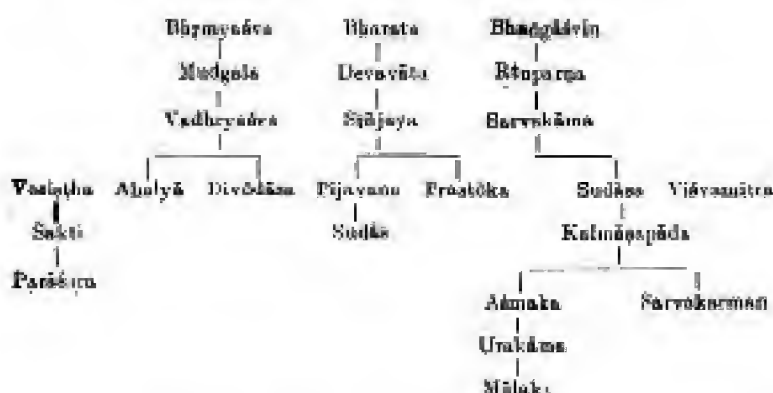
² Gd. MBh. I, 176, 21.

³ Va. 88, 174-176.

⁴ Rv. VII, 104, 15.

⁵ Rv. VII, 104, 17-25.

⁶ Rv. VII, 104, 16.



Now, we learn from the Vāyu that Viśvāmītra tried to harm the young Parāśara,¹ the grandson of Vasistha. In the Rgveda we find that Vasistha, the priest of Sudāśa, mentions that his enemies (i. e. Viśvāmītra and his followers) wished to harm Parāśara who prayed to the Vedic war-god Indra.² Thus the Rgveda remarkably supports the Vāyu and the inevitable conclusion is Parāśara's grand-father was the priest of Sudāśa. This fact is further established by referring to the genealogical table above. For it will be found that Sudāśa, the son Pijavana Sārījaya, belongs to third step below Mudgala who was the son-in-law of Naḍa and who was for this reason a younger contemporary of Rṭuparṇa. Hence the Ikṣvāku king Kalmāśapāda, the third in descent from Rṭuparṇa, was a contemporary of Sudāśa Pijavana whose priest Vasistha was. It cannot but be admitted then Sakti who was killed by Kalmāśapāda, was the son of that very Vasistha who was the priest of Sudāśa Pijavana. The same Vasistha begat Aśmaka on Madayantī, the wife of Kalmāśapāda, and the same Vasistha's grandson Parāśara was a contemporary of Sarvakarman, the son of Kalmāśapāda ; for the Mahābhārata states that Saudāśa's

¹ Vs. I, 177.

² ऋषेः शत्रुनाशकस्य शत्रुनाशकस्य शत्रुनाशकस्य ।

॥ ते भीष्मकाः सखाः ॥ अथवाऽथवा सखिभिः । इति वा ॥ अथवा ॥—Rv. VII. 18. 21.

son was named Sarvakarman because Parāśara like a servant did all his work¹.

Seventhly, for the position of Sudāś Paijavana on the genealogical table we turn to the poetical compositions of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. He defeated ten kings in a battle² which took place near the river Paruṣṇī in the Panjab. Viśvāmitra was his former Purōhita and led him and his forces over the Vip̄śā and the Śatadri³. He had a queen named Sudevī by worshipping the Aśvins⁴. He was a contemporary of the famous Ikāvāku king Trāsadaśyu, the son of Purukutsa⁵. At one time he was defeated by Purukutsa.⁶ Consequently it follows that Sudāś was to certain extent a contemporary of Tryarūṇa Traivṛṣṭa (=Traidhātva) of the Ikṣvāku race⁷.

The position of Sudāś Paijavana has been determined. Some of the kings arrayed against him in the battle of

¹ Gd. MBh. XII, 49, 77-78.

² Rv. VII, 18 : VII, 20, 2 ; 25, 3 ; 32, 10 ; 33, 3 ; 64, 3 ; 83, 1 ; 33, 2 ; 5 ; 83, 8 ; Av. X, 128, 12.

³ मदीं वृषिर्वेवला देवदूतोक्तमात् धिन्मुनयं नृपयाः ।

विश्वामित्रो यवनहन् युवामयविश्वामो कुम्भकेभिरिन्द्र ॥—Rv. III, 53, 9 ; Cf. Rv. III, 53, 11.

⁴ वाभिः वदीभिर्मदाम त्वत्सु रामशायभिरहस्यीरमिच्छाम् ।

वाभिः युवाम जहृषु सदेव वाभिर्युः कतिभिर्वशिना मत्सु ॥—Rv. I, 112, 19.

⁵ तं हस्यो हसता वीतवत्सं मासो विश्वामित्रमिभिः युवाम् ।

प्र वीतकुण्डिं यमवत्सु मासः सौम्याता हवत्सुर्धु युवम् ॥—Rv. VII, 19, 3.

⁶ तं न त्वदिन्द्र मम युवम् इरी वजिन् प्रवत्सुषाम वदेः ।

वदि तं यद् युवामं [मं] हमा सोमोः राजन् वरिवः वृषे कः ॥—Rv. I, 63, 7.

⁷ Br. Dv. V, 14 et seq ; Panc. Br. XIII ; 3, 12 ; Satya. Br. 36 Rv. V, 27, 1-3.

Paruṣṇī were the distant descendants respectively of Anu,¹ Druhyu,² &c. the sons of Yayāti Nāhuṣa.

We now proceed to indicate why they should be considered as the distant descendants of Yayāti Nāhuṣa. Vasiṣṭha, the priest of Sudās in his prayers to Indra says 'Oh owner of wealth, being your friends and beloved, and leaders of your sacrifice, we shall enjoy at home. Make Turvaśa and Yādva submit, thereby making Atithigva happy. By the word Atithigva here, Vasiṣṭha means his Yajamāna Sudās who was ever mindful towards guests; and by Turvaśa and Yādva, he evidently means the distant descendants respectively of Turvasu and Yadu, for the word Yādva is admittedly a Vedic patronymic derived from Yadu, and the word Turvaśa is a derivative of the Vedic word Turvas, [Turvas being the Vedic form which stands for the Purāṇic form Turvasu; the form Turvasu also is sometimes used in the R̥gveda]. Lines other than those preserved in the Purāṇas existed, as each king was the father, not of one son only, but of many sons; and in this way the Yadus and the Turvasus multiplied into tribes. The chiefs of these two tribes were titled as Yādva and Turvaśa respectively. Similar were the cases with the descendants of Druhyu and Anu. Druhyu and Anu became the titles of the chiefs of the tribes into which the descendants of the primitive ancestors multiplied. Compare Janaka, Ikṣvāku, Śrījaya, Br̥hadratha &c. Any descendant of Janaka could be called a Janaka, and descendant of Br̥hadratha could be called a Br̥hadratha, any descendant of Śrījaya could be called a Śrījaya, and so forth. Particularly notice in this connection the statements of Vasiṣṭha. He says 'sixty hundred and six thousand six hundred sixty-six Anus and Druhyus (=i. e. the des-

¹ Rv. VII, 12, 14.

² Vc. VII, 18, 14: Rv. VII, 18, 12.

³ Rv. VII, 19, 8.

cendants of Anu and Druhyu lay down on the battle field for Sudās; these acts attest the might of Indra." The huge number of the Anus and Druhyus who opposed Sudās, the son of Pijavana Śrījaya, proves that they were the distant descendants of the primitive ancestors, and were formed into tribes in course of time. The chief titled as Druhyu opposed Sudās at the battle of the Paruṣi and was drowned, while Yādva and Turvaśa, as we have seen, submitted²; and of these, the chief titled as Turvaśa (personal name unknown) came to Sudās and was killed by him.³ Mark in this connection that Śāyana makes the word 'Yakṣu' here (Rv. VII, 18, 6) mean expert in sacrifices' (Yajñakūśala). Notice also that 'Yakṣu' was the name of a tract of land (Janapada) famous for its horses.⁴ The Mahābhārata says⁵ "It has been remembered that the Yavanas were the descendants of Turvasu, the son of Yayāti Nāhuṣa." The philologists declare that the 'Y' in 'Yavana' may be replaced by 'J'; that is, both the forms 'Yavana' and 'Javana' are permissible and therefore interchangeable. Javana even in later Sanskrit literature means "one who possesses speed" (Compare Yaska's derivation of Pijavana (Nir. II, 24. Roth's edition, Göttingen). Now the word Turvas also means "one who runs fast"; so that both the words Turvas and Javana mean the same. Just as the Śrījayas (Śat. Brā. x,⁶ 9, 3, 1; 2 &c.) mean the descendants of Śrījaya, the Jamadagnis (Jamadagnayah Rv. III 53 16) mean the descendants of Jamadagni Āreika, the Bharatas (Bharatān Rv. III, 33, 11; 12:) mean the descendants of Bharata, so the Yavanas (=the Javanas) mean the descendants of Yavana (=Turvasu). In Hebrew literature the son of Nweos or Nwexos (=Noah in English) is called Yepheth or Yapht

¹ Rv. VII, 18, 12.² Rv. VII, 19, 8.³ Rv. VII, 18, 6.⁴ Śāyana on Rv. VII, 18, 19.⁵ Kumb. MBh. I, 79, 42.

and his son is called Javana. The similarity of names makes the following equations very remarkable.

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{Nāhuṣa} & = & \text{Nweṣa} \\
 | & & | \\
 \text{Yayāti} & = & \text{Yapht} \\
 | & & | \\
 \text{Turvasu} & = & \text{Yavana} = \text{Javana}
 \end{array}$$

Did the Hebrews borrow the names of famous ancient Indo-Aryan kings? We suspect that the Yavanas who have been established to have been the same as the ancient Greeks, were, after all, the descendants of Turvasu (=Yavana), the son of Yayāti Nāhuṣa. In the Rgveda we find that Yayāti Nāhuṣa performed sacrifices on the bank of the Sarasvatī¹. The Mahābhārata informs us that Valadeva in his travels throughout Uttarāpatha visited that sacred spot where Yayāti Nāhuṣa performed his sacrifices². It was then called the Yāyāta Tīrtha. Thus the most ancient literary records of the world are in favour of the supposition that the Indo-Aryans were already settled in India at the time of Yayāti Nāhuṣa. We have seen before that the Mahābhārata declares³ 'It has been remembered that the Yavanas were the descendants of Turvasu'. It is very difficult then to resist the conclusion that the Yavanas, who were the descendants of Turvasu (=Yavana), migrated out of India towards the North west. If this is permitted, then the approximate time of separation of an Indo-Greek branch from the main body of Indo-Aryans can be determined from genealogical considerations.

We have seen before that Turvaśa (=Turvasu) was the title of a king to whom the appellation 'Yakṣu' has been given in the Rgveda⁴. Sāyana renders 'Yakṣu' here by 'Yajñakṣāla' but he also recognizes that Yakṣu was the

¹ Rv. VII, 96, 2.

Kumb. b.MB. 17 79 42.

² Kumb. MBh. IX, 42, 33.

⁴ Rv. VII, 16, 6.

name of a Janapada or country. It is very probable then that Turvaśa was the title of the Yavana king of the Janapada named Yakṣu. Being the inhabitants of the Janapada named Yakṣu, the followers of the Turvaśa king were known as the Yakṣus. Thus we arrive at the probability that the Pāṇḍula king Sudās, the son of Piṇjavana, Sārṇjaya killed the Turvaśa king (or the Yavana king) who was settled in the Janapada named Yakṣu, and that the Turvasas or the Yavanas were also known as the Yakṣus.

Druhyu, Turvaśa, Yādva &c. were the titles of the distant descendants of the primitive ancestors, just as Ikṣvāku, Satvant, Śivi, Janaka Jamadagni, Bharata, Sṛīyaja, Sōmaka &c. became respectively the titles of the descendants of the famous ancestors bearing those names. That was a peculiar custom of the Vedic Age. The same practice has been followed even in the historical age. The Śiśunūgas, the Pradyōtas, the Nandas, the Śungas, the Mauryas (the very word Maurya means Chandragupta, the son of Murā) &c. and the typical examples.

After thus fixing the position of Sudās, the son of Piṇjavana Sārṇjaya, on the genealogical table we observe that Ajamiḍha, the great ancestor of the Pāṇḍalas and the Kauravas, was the descendant of a certain Bharata different from Bharata, the son of Duṣmanta. Now from the R̥gveda we learn that Sudās Piṇjavana fought the Bharatas. It comes to this then that a Pāṇḍala king fought the Bharatas. Now there is a description in Mahābhārata of the invasion of Hastināpura by a Pāṇḍālya king when Sambarana, the descendant of R̥kṣa Ajamiḍha, was ruling. For this reason Mr. Pargiter has suggested that Sambarana was the Bharata king whom Sudās fought. The genealogical tables are against it; but there is a great confusion in the Purāṇic genealogy of the Bharatas.

¹ Sayana on Rv. VII, 18, 19.

Sudās Paijavana having attained a victory over ten rival kings became very haughty, and this haughtiness of his became the cause of his downfall.¹ The battle of ten kings which took place at a remote corner of India, was an insignificant battle, as compared with those described in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, and as such, could not form the subject of a historical epic, although Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra who were directly concerned with it, have preserved it in their poetical compositions. The battles of Kurukṣetra and Lāṅkā were very momentous events with which the whole of Aryan India was concerned, and as such, at once formed the subject of great historical epics.

From Divōdāsa, the son of Vadhryaśva, there sprang another line of descendants whom the Purāṇas have completely forgotten. In the Sarvānukramaṇī to the R̥gveda we find² that Divōdāsa had a son named Paruccheṇa who composed from the 127th to the 129th hymn of Maṇḍala I of the R̥gveda. Paruccheṇa Divōdāsa mentions the feat of his father, namely the killing of Śambara by Atithigva Divōdāsa³. Paruccheṇa's son was

	Divōdāsa
Anānata ⁴ Anānata Pāruccheṇi composed	|
Rv. IX, 111. No descendant of Anānata	Paruccheṇa
Pāruccheṇi can be collected from the	|
R̥gveda.	Anānata

The Vāyu uses the patronymic Saudāsa⁵ for Sahadeva and apparently means that Sahadeva was the son of Sudās. But this is a mistake in the Vāyu, as we have already learnt from the Śatapatha and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇas that Suplan-Sahadeva was the son of Śrājaya. Accordingly the other Purāṇas which have followed the Vāyu, have fallen into error. Sahadeva was the successor of Sudās and the Purāṇas have in many places, confused the successor with the son.

¹ Manu VII, 41.

² Sarv. Kram. to Rv. I, 127.

³ Rv. I, 130, 7. ⁴ Sarv. Kram. to Rv. IX, 111. ⁵ Va. 99, 208.

Sāhadeva's son was Sōmaka who, like his father, performed sacrifices on the Yamunā.¹ He received instructions on the edibles of a Kṣatriya from Nārada and Parvata, and spoke about it to his father Sāhadeva Sārñjaya.² Sōmaka Sāhadeva made a gift of two horses to the famous Ṛṣi Vāmadeva³ who officiated as his priest in a sacrifice in which the Ṛṣi Vāmadeva offered oblations to the fire lighted for the well-being of the soul of the king's departed grand-father Sññjaya Daivavāta.⁴ In sacrifices, Sōmaka Sāhadeva in common with many other Vedic kings had an absolute faith. Being desirous of many sons he actually burnt his only little son Jantu in a fire lighted up for the purpose, and allowed his weeping wives to inhale the foul-smelling fumes that were evolved by the burning of the poor child.⁵ India is in need of such steel-hearted fathers who would not hesitate to sacrifice their sons for the liberation of their noblest possession on earth. The Mahābhārata says that as a result of this Puruṣa-medha sacrifice, hundred (=many) sons were born to Sōmaka by his hundred (=many) wives, and amongst these sons, the youngest was Jantu reborn.⁶ The Mahābhārata does not evidently name this youngest son by the term Jantu but simply believes that he was Jantu in his former birth or that Jantu was reborn as the youngest son of Sōmaka in consequence of the Puruṣa-medha sacrifice. The Purāṇas state that this son of Sōmaka Sāhadeva was Prṣata.⁷ But this cannot be accepted. In fact, the very description that Sōmaka had a hundred sons [शतं पुत्राणाम्] and amongst them Prṣata was the youngest, mean that Prṣata was a distant descendant of Sōmaka. That is the way of the Purāṇas to imply the gap between Sōmaka and Prṣata. The question as to who was the famous son of Sōmaka in consequence of the Puruṣa-medha sacrifice is answered

¹ Gd. MBh. III, 125, 25-26.

² Ait. Br. VII, 34.

³ Rv. IV, 15, 7-8.

⁴ Rv. IV, 15, 4.

⁵ Gd. MBh. III, 127-128.

⁶ Kumb. MBh. III, 129, 7-8.

⁷ Va. 99, 210; Va. IV, 19, 18, &c.

by the Mahābhārata where we find that the famous Rājaraṣi Arkadanta was the son of Sōmaka.¹ Sōmaka Sāhadevya became so very famous by performing sacrifices that people believed that Ajamīdha, the great ancestor of the Kauravas and Pāṇcālas, was reborn as Sōmaka. This mythology represents the mental back-ground of the people of the later Ṛgvedic Age. Accordingly we hold that strong faith in a rebirth originated in the later Ṛgvedic Age, and the Purāṇas have recorded that belief. Now the names of the lineal descendants of Arkadanta, the son of Sōmaka, have been forgotten with the exception of a certain king named Nīla whom the Vāyu speaks of as the grand-father of Prṣata.² The Harivamśa calls him Nīpa.³ The Matsya calls him Nīla but represents him as the father Pṛthuka.⁴ The Matsya reading Pṛthuka evidently stands for Prṣata and may be pronounced to be a corrupt reading for Prṣata. The Brahma calls Nīpa as the grand father of Prṣata. This Nīla-Nīpa was killed by Ugrāyudha who belonged to the line of Dvīnidha. Ugrāyudha in his turn was killed by Bhīṣma Śāntanava⁵ as is attested by the Mahābhārata and the Harivamśa. We side with the majority of the Purāṇas in holding that Nīla-Nīpa was the grand-father, (and not the father) of Prṣata. Thus we tap every available source of Purāṇic information but cannot complete the Northern Pāṇcālas who were also called the Śrājāyas inasmuch as it sprang from the famous ancestor Śrājāya. Curiously however help comes from unexpected quarters which calculates the number of lineal descendants of Śrājāya, the father of Sahadeva down to a known later period. In the Śatapathya Brāhmaṇa⁶ we find that the king Duṣtarītu Paunḍrīyana was expelled from the kingdom of the Śrājāyas who also expelled Revōttaras Pāṭava Cakra

¹ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 53, 28.

² Va. 99, 192.

³ Hv. I, 20, 40.

⁴ Mā. 49, 77-78.

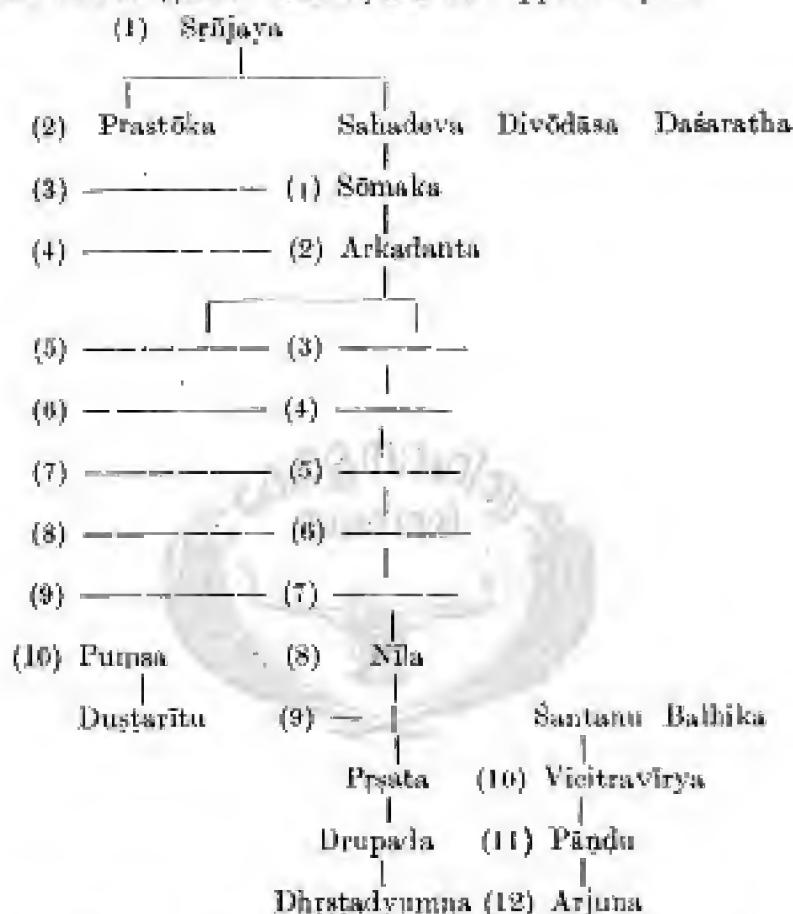
⁵ Kumb. MBh. XII, 25, 10; Gd. MBh. XII, 27, 10; Hv. I, 20, 35.

⁶ Sat. Bra. XII, 4, 3, 3-13; cf. XII, 8, 1, 17.

Sthapati. This kingdom came down to Dustarītu Paumsāyana (=the descendant of Pūmsa) through ten generations. Here it is to be observed that the founder of the dynasty was Śrījaya. His son Prastōka, as we have seen, was the contemporary of Divōdāsa, as Garga, the son of Bharadvāja, Vājineya recieved presents from both Divōdāsa and Prastōka. In India the descendants and followers of a famous king have often been generally known by the name of the king. This has been particularly the case with the famous founders of dynasties. The descendants of Bharata were known as the Bharatas, those of Kuru were known as the Kurus, those Ikṣvāku were known as the Ikṣvākus. The Bṛhadrathas, the Janakas, the Yadus, the Anus, the Śivis, the Uśīnaras, the Mahāyayas, the Tālajaṅghas, the Aṅgas, the Cedis, the Vidarbhas, the Āśmakas, are the other examples. The same practice has been followed down even to the historical age. The Śiśunāgas, the Pradyōtas, the Mauryas, the Sungas, are the typical examples. Hence it will be admitted that by the kingdom of the Śrījayas is meant the kingdom founded by Śrījaya, just as by the kingdom of the Bṛhadrathas is meant the kingdom founded by Bṛhadratha (i. e. the kingdom of Magadha). There are many other instances. The kingdom of the Śivis was found by the king Śivi Auśīnara, the kingdom of the Videhas was founded by the king Videha (=Mithi-Janaka), the kingdom of the Aṅgas was found by the ing Aṅga Vāleya, and so on.

Now it will be perceived that Dustarītu Paumsāyana =the descendant of Pūmsa, the word being derived in the same way as Nālāyana or Nālāyanī from Nala,) the king of the Śrījayas, was holding the kingdom founded by Śrījaya, at a time when ten lineal ancestors before him had already ruled there. Hence it cannot but be inferred that Dustarītu was the tenth in descent from Śrījaya, the founder of the kingdom. Hence Dustarītu was the ninth in descent

or at the ninth step below Prastōka Sārñjaya whom we have already seen to have been a contemporary of Divōdāsa. Now this Duṣṭarītu Paumsāyana was opposed by his



contemporary, the Kauravya king Balhika, the son of Pratipa. This Balhika is well known to us. He was the brother of Devāpi and Śantanu. Now as Ajuna Pāṇḍava was the third in descent from Śantanu, the brother of Balhika, Arjuna thus belonged to the third generation below Duṣṭarītu Paumsāyana, the king of the Sārñjayas. Thus the evidence of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa proves that Arjuna Pāṇḍava belonged to the 12th step below Prastōka Sārñjaya or Divōdāsa.

¹ Sat. Bra. XII, 9, 3, 3-13.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SOUTHERN PAÑCĀLA LINE.

The first few kings of the Southern Pañcāla dynasty that sprang from Akamīdha are variously named and their order of succession is variously given in the different Purāṇas. Hence it is necessary that we should review these points in greater detail here. As the dynasty is dealt with by the Vāyu the Viṣṇu the Bhāgavata and the Matsya only, we draw up the following table illustrating how they differ as to their names and orders of succession.

Vā. 99 170-171.	Vs. IV, 19, 11	Ms. IX, 21,	Mt. 49, 47-49.
.....	.....	.....	Brhadrasu
.....	.....	.....	Brhanta
.....	Brhadīṣu	Brhadīṣu	Brhanmanas
Brhadvasu (=dhanu)	Brhadvasu	Brhadddhanu	Brhadddhanu
Brhadviṣṇu	.....	.....	Brhadīṣu
Brhatkarmān	Brhatkarmān	Brhatkāya	.....
Brhadratha	Jayadratha	Jayadratha	Jayad-(Brhad) ratha.
Viśvajit	Viśvajit	Viśva	Śśvajit.
Somaḥjit	Somaḥjit	Somaḥjit	Somaḥjit

The Vāyu places Brhadvasu as the first king of this dynasty. Some manuscripts of the Vāyu have the reading Brhadddhanu instead of Brhadvasu. The Viṣṇu reads Brhadvasu for his name but places him the second in the series after Brhadīṣu. The Bhāgavata reads Brhadddhanu for his name and places him the second in the lineal succession as does the Viṣṇu. The Matsya calls him Brhadddhanu, as do the Bhāgavata and some manuscripts of Vāyu, but places him the fourth in the lineal succession.

The second king in the Vāyu is Brhadviṣṇu. He is not mentioned in the Viṣṇu and its follower the Bhāgavata, but the Matsya probably calls the same king by the name Brhadīṣu.

The third king in the Vāyu list is called Brhatkarmān. It is evident that he is the same as Brhatkāya of the Bhāgavata. The Viṣṇu agrees with the Vāyu in calling him Brhatkarmān while the Matsya omits him.

The fourth king in the Vāyu list is called Brhadratha. The Matsya calls him Jayadratha but some manuscripts of the Matsya read Brhadratha. The Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata call him Jayadratha.

The fifth king in the Vāyu list is Viśvajit. He is Viśvajit in the Viṣṇu, Viśada in the Bhāgavata and Aśvajit in the Matsya.

The sixth king in the Vāyu list is Senajit. He is Senajit in all these Purāṇas.

Now after the first king Brhadvasu = Brhaddhanu of the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu and its follower the Bhāgavata mention only one king and name him Brhadiṣu. We suspect that this king Brhadiṣu of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata is the same as Brhadiṣu of the Matsya and Brhadviṣṇu of the Vāyu and should therefore be placed below Brhadvasu = Brhaddhanu in the former two Purāṇas. There is no harm in securing thus an agreement amongst all the Purāṇas, as the number of kings in them (i. e. in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata) remain the same which is essential for our purpose. This being granted, the case becomes very simplified as is represented in the following modified table :—

Vā.	Vāyu (old)	Br. (modified)	Mā.
			Brhadvasu
			Brhadviṣu
			Brhadmanu
Brhadvasu (old name)	Brhadvasu	Brhaddhanu	Brhaddhanu
Brhadviṣṇu	Brhadiṣu	Brhadiṣu	Brhadviṣṇu
Brhatkarmān	Brhatkarmān	Brhatkāya	
Brhadratha	Jayadratha	Jayadratha	Jayadr = Brhad- ratha
Viśvajit	Viśvajit	Viśada	Aśvajit
Senajit	Senajit	Senajit	Senajit

From the table it is clear that there is a wonderful agreement amongst all these Purāṇas if Brhadiṣu of the Viṣṇu

and the Bhāgavata is thus transferred below Bṛhadvasu (= Bṛhaddhanu). Now the Matsya mentions no less than three lineal ancestors above Bṛhaddhanu (= Bṛhadvasu) unknown to the other Purāṇas. There is a reason for this unless it is supposed that these three names have been manufactured by the Matsya. We are of opinion that the Matsya Purāṇa was compiled in the Matsya country by the Matsya people¹ and was probably better informed about them. Accordingly we adjust this portion of the dynasty thus :

1. Bṛhadanu
- |
2. Bṛhanta
- |
3. Bṛhanmanas
- |
4. Bṛhaddhanu—Bṛhadvasu
- |
5. Bṛhadīṣu—Bṛhadviṣṇu
- |
6. Bṛhatkarma—Bṛhatkāya
- |
7. Bṛhadratha—Jayadratha
- |
8. Viśvajit—Aśvajit—Viśvā
- |
9. Senajit

Thus Senajit belongs to the ninth step below Ajamīdha as do Divōdāsa and his sister Ahalyā. Now it may be admitted that Senajit was to a certain extent contemporary of Divōdāsa younger or older.

We consult the Vāyu (99, 172-182), the Viṣṇu (IV, 19-11-13, the Viṣṇu is confused after Bahllāṭa, as it omits Janamejaya and tacks the line of Dvimīdha after Bahllāṭa,) the Bhāgavata (IX, 21, 23-6, the Bhāgavata omits from Samara to Apuṣa, and afterwards, Janamejaya, the son of Bahllāṭa it further places Pṛthuseṇa below Pāra), and the Matsya (49, 49-59,) and

¹ Sat. Bra. XIII, 4, 3, 12-13.

have on the combined evidence of the Purāṇas Ruci-rāśva, Prthuseṇa, Paura, Nipa, Samara, Pāra, Prthu, Sukṛti, Vibhṛāja, Anuḥa, Brahmadaṭṭa, Viśvaksena, Udaḥsena, Bhallāṭa, Janamejaya, one after another in lineal succession. The Matsya says that the 12th Viśvaksena-Yugadatta was the 9th Vibhṛāja reborn. The Vāyu corrupts the line in which this sentiment is expressed. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that Brahmadaṭṭa wrote a work on the science of Yōga on the advice of Jaigīśavya.

Now there are conflicting synchronisms in the Purāṇas about the kings Anuḥa, Brahmadaṭṭa, Bhallāṭa and Janamejaya. It is stated in the Harivaṃśa¹ that Brahmadaṭṭa of the Southern Pāṇḍala dynasty was the contemporary of Pratipa, the

grand-father of Bhīṣma Sāntanava. It is also, stated there that Bhallāṭa, the great grandson of Brahmadaṭṭa, was killed in a fight by Rādheya². The Vāyu puts 'राजा येन' in the place of 'राधेयेन' of the Harivaṃśa. It is further stated in the Vāyu, the Matsya, and the Harivaṃśa that for Janamejaya, the son of Bhallāṭa, the king Ugrāyudha

	Viśvajit
	Senajit
1.	Rucirāśva
2.	Prthuseṇa
3.	Paura-Pāra
4.	Nipa
5.	Samara
6.	Pāra
7.	Prthu-Bṛṣu
8.	Sukṛti-Sukṛta
9.	Vibhṛāja
10.	Anuḥa
11.	Brahmadaṭṭa
12.	Viśvaksena-Yugadatta
13.	Udaḥsena
14.	Bhallāṭa
15.	Janamejaya

¹ Hv. I, 20, 11-12.

² Hv. I, 20, 32.

who belonged to the line of Dvimīdha exterminated all the Nīpas¹.

The Viṣṇu² mentions the extermination of the Nīpas by Ugrāyudha but does not state that it was done by him on behalf of Janamejaya. It is related in detail in the Hari-vaṁśa that this king Ugrāyudha who exterminated the Nīpas for Janamejaya, the son of Bhallāta, was killed in a fight by Bhīṣma Śāntanava³. After the death of Śāntanu, the king Ugrāyudha sent a messenger to Bhīṣma asking him to hand over his (=Bhīṣma's) mother Gandhakālī (=Satyawatī to him (Ugrāyudha)). Enraged at this insult, Bhīṣma proceeded to the Pañcāla country and killed the king Ugrāyudha⁴. In agreement with this information of the Harivaṁśa, the Mahābhārata informs us that the mighty Cakravartin king Ugrāyudha was killed by Bhīṣma Śāntanava⁵.

If this line of argument is followed, then the following table would indicate the synchronisms :

	Apuha	
	Brahmadatta	
	Viṣvaksena	
	Udaksena	
	Bhallāta	
	Janamejaya	
Kṛta		Pratipa
<u>Ugrāyudha</u>		Śāntanu
		<u>Bhīṣma</u>
		Pāṇḍu
		Arjuna
		<u>Karna</u>
		(Rādheya)

But there are arguments against this arrangement. For it is stated in the Purāṇas⁶ that Apuha, the father of Brahma-latta, married Kṛtvī (or R̥cī), the daughter of Śuka, the son

¹ Va. 99, 182 ; Hv. I, 20, 31 ; Mt. 49, 49.

² Va. IV, 19, 14.

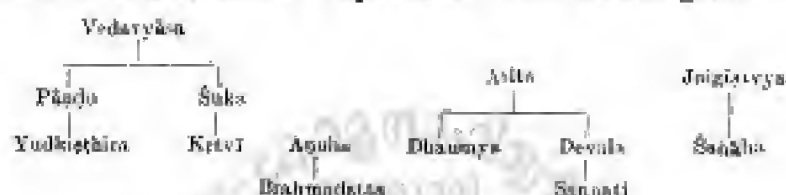
³ Hv. I, 20, 31-35.

⁴ Hv. I, 20, 49-71.

⁵ Kumb. MBh. XII, 26, 10 ; Gd. MBh. XII, 27, 10.

⁶ Va. 99, 179 ; 73, 28-31 ; Hv. I, 20, 1 ; I, 18, 50-53 ; Mt. 15, 8-10 ; &c.

of Vedavyāsa. We also find it stated in the Purāṇas¹ that Brahmadaṭṭa married Sannati, the daughter of Devala. We further find it stated in a famous saying in the Mahābhārata that the Pāṇḍava king Brahmadaṭṭa made valuable gifts to the Rṣi Śaṅkha². This Śaṅkha we know was the son of Jaigīśavya, the brother-in-law of Asita³. These data would tend to lower a bit the position of Brahmadaṭṭa on the genealogical table. For if Anuṣa is supposed to have married, the daughter of Śuka, the son of Vedavyāsa, then Anuṣa could, at best, have been the contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira Pāṇḍava, as is represented in the following table :—



These positions of Anuṣa and Brahmadaṭṭa are strengthened by the Purāṇic statement that Brahmadaṭṭa married Devala's daughter Sannati; for as Devala's brother Dhaumya was the priest of the Pāṇḍavas, Devala was, to a certain extent, a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira, and Brahmadaṭṭa can very well marry the daughter of Devala, as represented in the table. There is again a third consideration which fixes the above positions of Anuṣa and Brahmadaṭṭa. We know that Devala's father was Asita, and Asita's brother-in-law was Jaigīśavya, the son of Śataśilāka. Asita married Ekaparnā and had his son Devala by her, while Jaigīśavya married Ekāpātālā (the sister of Ekaparnā) and had, by her, his famous sons named Śaṅkha and Likhita⁴. Thus Śaṅkha and Devala were the sons of two sisters and therefore were cousins [Matṛvasrīyanu Bhṛātarau]. Now it will be realised how the Māhabhārata information that Brahmadaṭṭa made

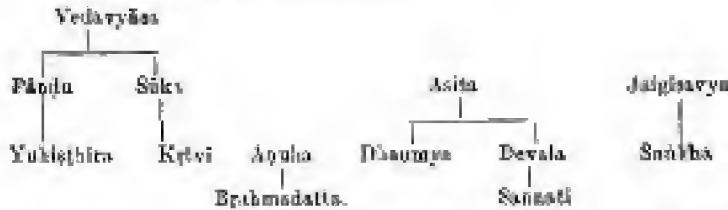
¹ Mt. 20, 23-26 Hv. I, ; 23, 25-26; &c.

² Kumb. MBh. XIII, 200, 17.

³ Va. 72, 17-19.

⁴ Va. 72, 17-19.

gifts to Śaṅkha fixes the position of Brahmadaṭṭa on the genealogical table as represented :



Thus one line of traditions would make Brahmadaṭṭa a contemporary of Pratipa, the father of Śantanu, while the other would place him a step below Yudhiṣṭhira. It is impossible to reconcile these two conflicting series. That Brahmadaṭṭa's father Anuḥa married Kṛtvī, the daughter of Śuka,—the son of Vedavyāsa, is attested by all the authoritative Purāṇas including the Vāyu and the Matsya as well as the Harivaṃśa; that Brahmadaṭṭa married Deva's daughter Sannati is also attested by many of the Purāṇas including the Harivaṃśa; that Brahmadaṭṭa made gifts to the Rṣi Śaṅkha is also accepted as truth; while the account that he was a contemporary of Pratipa is held by the Harivaṃśa alone; no other Purāṇa gives any direct support to it. The statement in the Harivaṃśa that Brahmadaṭṭa's great grandson Bhaḷāṭa was killed in a fight by Rādheya due to the reading 'राधेयेन हतः पुरा' is opposed by the Vāyu reading 'राजा येन हतः पुरा' which would mean that Bhaḷāṭa murdered his father. However, if the Harivaṃśa account of the contemporaneity of Brahmadaṭṭa and Pratipa is credited, then Senajit, the contemporary of Divōdāsa becomes 15 generations earlier than the Mahābhārata episode, while if the latter account is held to be correct, Senajit becomes earlier than the time of the Mahābhārata by 11 generations.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANGA DYNASTY

Now we shall adjust the dynasty that sprang from Rômapāda, the friend and contemporary of Daśaratha Aikṣvāka. Rômapāda's son was Caturaṅga, as is attested by all the Purāṇas¹. Caturaṅga's son is named variously in the Purāṇas. The Vāyu calls him Prṭhulākṣa². The Matsya calls him Prṭhulākṣa³. The Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata, the Harivaṃśa,

Rômapāda
(1) Caturaṅga
(2) Prṭhulākṣa
(3) Campa
(4) Haryaṅga

the Brahma, the Agni agree with the Matsya in naming him Prṭhulākṣa⁴. Accordingly it may be admitted that the reading in the Vāyu is corrupt and we adopt the name Prṭhulākṣa. Prṭhulākṣa's son was Campa, the father of Haryaṅga⁵. Both Campa and Haryaṅga have been omitted in the Bhāgavata. After Haryaṅga the Purāṇas differ as to his lineal descendants. The difference amongst the Purāṇas is best illustrated by the following table :

¹ Va. 99, 194 ; Mt. 48, 95 ; Mt. I, 31, 47 ; Bm. 13, 41 ; Va. IV 18, 4 ; Bh. IX, 23, 10 ; Ag. 277, 13.

² Va. 99, 695.

³ Mt. 48, 96.

⁴ Va. IV, 18, 4 ; Bh. IX, 23, 10 ; Hv. I, 31, 45 ; Bm. 13, 42 Ag. 277, 13.

⁵ Va. 99, 105, 107 ; Mt. 48, 96-98 ; Va. IV, 18, 4-5 ; &c.

Va. 99, 109-110; 114. Haryaṅga	Mū. 48, 99-100. Haryaṅga	Agm. 277, 14. Haryaṅga	Hv. I, 31, 51-52. Haryaṅga	Bṛm. 13, 45-46. Haryaṅga
Bhadraratha	Bhadraratha	Bhadraratha	Bhadraratha	Bhadraratha
Bṛhat-karman	Bṛhat-karman	Bṛhat-karman	Bṛhat-karman	Bṛhat-karman
Bṛhadratha; Bṛhadbhānu	Bṛhadbhānu	Bṛhadbhānu	Bṛhadrathā	Bṛhadrathā
Br̥hanmanas	Malātmanavant	Bṛhātmanavant	Br̥hanmanas	Br̥hanmanas

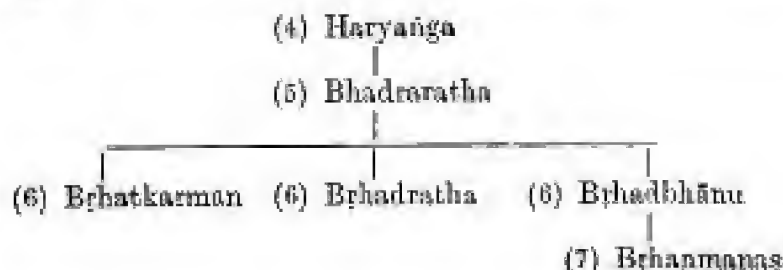
Bh. IX, 23, 11.

Va. IV, 18, 5.

Campa } Omitted.
|
Haryaṅga }



From the above table, it is clear that Mahātmavant of the Matsya is the same as Brhātmavant of the Agni and Brhanmanas of the Vāyu, the Viṣṇu, the Harivaṃśa, the Brahma and the Bhāgavata. We shall call him Brhanmanas as sanctioned by the majority. Who was the father of this Brhanmanas? The Vāyu says at first that Brhanmanas was the son of Brhadratha but it revises its opinion by declaring that Brhanmanas was the son of Brhadbhānu². The Matsya says that Mahātmavant (=Brhanmanas) was the son of Brhadbhānu, so that the Matsya supports the latter account of the Vāyu. The Viṣṇu supports the latter account of the Vāyu, by declaring that Brhanmanas was descended from Brhadbhānu. The Agni supports the latter account of the Vāyu by stating that Brhātmavant was the son of Brhadbhānu. The Brahma and the Harivaṃśa call the father of Brhanmanas by the name Brhad-darbha. The Bhāgavata however supports the former account of the Vāyu by saying that Brhadratha, Brhat-Karman and Brhadbhānu were brothers and Brhanmanas was the son of Brhadratha; but the Bhāgavata has omitted the names of Campa, Haryaṅga and Bhadraratha. The Viṣṇu describes Brhat-karman, Brhadbhānu and Brhanmanas as lineal descendants. The Viṣṇu however describes Bhadraratha, Brhadratha and Brhatkarman as the sons of Haryaṅga; but here the Viṣṇu is opposed by the Vāyu, the Matsya, the Agni, the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma, all of which state that Bhadraratha was the father of Brhadratha. The correct genealogy of this portion of the dynasty which would satisfy most of the Purāṇas may be thus stated :—



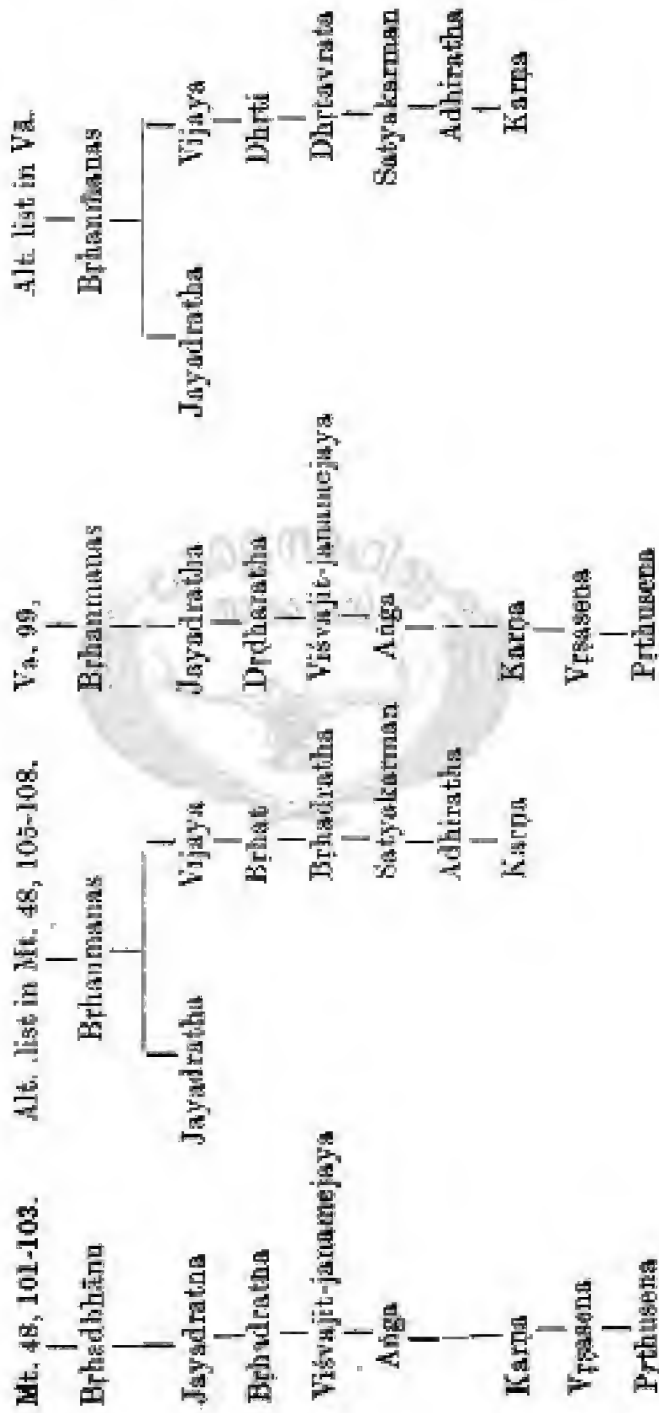
For our purpose the above table will do as it shows that BrĦanmanas was a step below both BrĦadratha and BrĦadbbhānu, thus both the accounts of the Vāyu are reconciled. The Bhāgavata also is satisfied because according to it BrĦanmanas was the successor of BrĦadratha. The Viṣṇu is satisfied so far as it describes that BrĦatkarman and BrĦadratha were brothers. The corrected genealogy from RŌmapāda to BrĦanmanas may then stand thus :



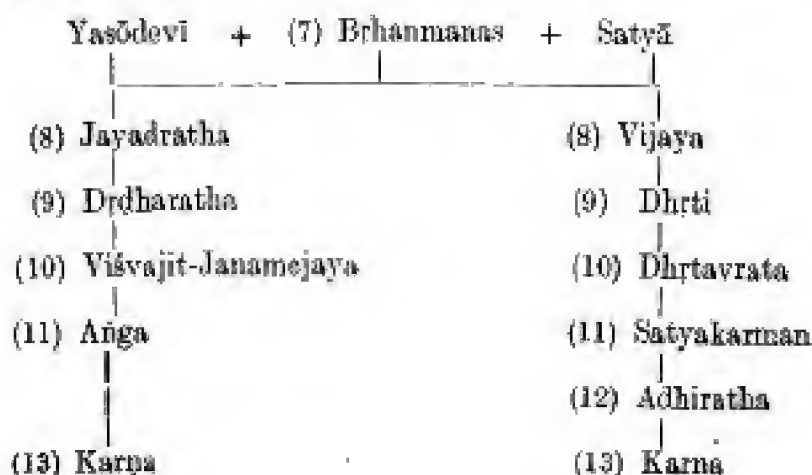
After finishing with BrĦanmanas, the Purāṇas differ again as to the lineal descendants of BrĦanmanas. The difference amongst them is illustrated by the following tables :

Alt. list of the Hv.
I, 31, 54-58 and
Brahma.

Va. IV, 18, 5-6. Bṛhannamas	Bh. IX, 23, 11-14. Bṛhannamas	Agnī. 277, 15-16. Bṛhātmavant	Hv. I, 31, 52-54. Bṛhannamas	Alt. list of the Hv. I, 31, 54-58 and Brahma.	
Jayadratha | Vijaya | Dhṛti | Dhṛtavrata | Satyakarman | Adhiratha | Karna	Jayadratha | Vijaya | Dhṛti | Dhṛtavrata | Satakarnan | Adhiratha | Karna | Vṛṣasena |	Jayadratha | Bṛhadratha | Viśvajit | Karna | Vṛṣasena | Pṛthūsena	Jayadratha | Dadharaṭha | Viśvajit-Janamejaya | Karna | Vikarna	Bṛhannamas | Jayadratha | Vijaya | Dhṛti | Dhṛtavrata | Satyakara | Adhiratha | Karna	



It is evident that Brhaddbhānu in the first Matsya list is a scribe's error. The correct form is Brhanmanas as is stated in all the Purāṇas, as well as in the alternative list of the Matsya itself. Again Brhat and Brhadratha of the alternative Matsya list stand for Dhṛti and Dhṛtavrata of the second lists of the Vāyu, the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma, as well as of the lists of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata. Then Brhadratha of the Agni and the first Matsya lists is the same as Dr̥ḍharatha of the first lists in the Vāyu, the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma. We shall call him Dr̥ḍharatha according to the Vāyu. The Vāyu, the Matsya, the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma relate in interesting detail how the dynasty branched off into two lines from Brhanmanas through his two wives Yaśodevī and Satyā. According to these Purāṇas Yaśodevī's son was Jayadratha, and Vijaya was the son of Satyā. This detailed account is more to be credited and the other account of the Viṣṇu followed up by the Bhāgavata that Vijaya was the son of Jayadratha, should be rejected. The Paurāṇika Sūta being asked on that special point by the audience Rsis, specifies the point at which the dynasty branched off into two lines. Accordingly the correct genealogy of this portion of the dynasty stands thus :



The last *i. e.* Karna was the illegitimate son of Kuntī and was brought up by Adhiratha, the Sūta, and he inherited the property of Aṅga, the fourth in descent from Bṛhanmanas. He was a famous hero and was killed in an unfair fight in the Mahābhārata war by Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Thus Karna naturally belongs to the 13th step below Rōmapāda-
Daśaratha.



CHAPTER X.

THE DESCENDANTS OF DAŚARATHA AIKṢVĀKA.

We shall examine critically the branch Ikṣvāku dynasty that sprang from Daśaratha Ājeya, the father of Rāma. Purāṇas are unanimous, in stating the names of the successive lineal descendants of Daśaratha¹. They

Daśaratha	were: Rāma, Kuśa, Atithi,
|	Niṣadha, Nala Nabha, Puṇ-
Rāma	darika, Kṣemadhanvan, Devā-
|	nika and Ahinagu. Noticing
Kuśa	here that the Paurāṇic Kṣem-
|	adhanvan, the son of Puṇ-
Atithi	darika, is the same as Kṣem-
|	adhrtvan Puṇdarika of the
Niṣadha	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa ² , who
|	sacrificed on the north bank
Nala	of the river Sudāman, we pro-
|	ceed with the main Purāṇic
Nabha	account.
|	According to the Matsya,
Puṇdarika	Kūrma, Agni, Līṅga, Śiva,
|	Ahinagu's son was Saḥasrāśva ³ .
Kṣemadhanvan (= Kṣemadhrtvan)	
Devānika	
Ahinagu	

Pāripātra

Saḥasrāśva

while the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa, and the Bhāgavata say that Ahinagu's son was Pāripātra, or Pāriyātra⁴, but the Viṣṇu introduces Rupa or Ruru between Ahinagu and Pāripātra⁵;

¹ Va. 88. 184-203; Vs. IV. 1, 47-48; Mt. 12. 49-54; Hv. I. 15; 26-29; Brm. 8, 87-90; Mb. IX. 10. 2-12, 21-12; Ag. 73, 94-98.

² एतन् वै क्षेमधन्वा पौण्डरीकं दत्ता सुदामसौ जगरे ॥ Panc. Brm. XXII. 18, 7.

³ Mt. 12. 51; Km. 21. 60; Ag. 273, 38; Sv. VI. 61, 71.

⁴ Va. 88. 204; Bh. IX. 12. 2; Bal. III. 64. 204. ⁵ Vs. IV. 4, 47.

The Harivaṃśa and the Brahma say that Ahinagu's son was Sudhanvan¹. Following the list of successive lineal descendants of Ahinagu according to the Matsya, the Kūrma, the Agni &c., we reach Śrutāyus about whom it is remarked in the Matsya that he was killed at the Bhārata war. These lineal descendants of Ahinagu were, according to these Purāṇas, Sahasrāśva, Candrāvalōka, Tārāpida, Candragiri, Bhānuścandra, and Śrutāyus successively, *i. e.* we have sixteen generations between Daśaratha and Śrutāyus. Now because the Ikṣvaku king Bṛhadvala king killed at the Mahābhārata war by Abhīmanyu Arjuna, Mr. Pargiter has assumed that Śrutāyus and Bṛhadvala mean the same person whom he has called Śrutāyu-Bṛhadvala. But this he has no right to assume. Śrutāyus's father was Bhānuścandra, whereas the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which supplies us with the immediate ancestors of Bṛhadvala explicitly states that his father's name was Takṣaka. Now we find that there were killed no less than three Śrutāyuses in the Mahābhārata battle. The first Śrutāyus was the king of Kalinga, who was killed by Bhīma². The second Śrutāyus (belonging to a high family) with his brother Acyutāyus and two sons Niyutāyus and Dīrghāyus were killed by Arjuna³. The third Śrutāyus was the king of the Ambaṣṭhas and was killed by Arjuna⁴.

The second Śrutāyus with his brother Acyutāyus was employed in defending the right side of the Krauñch-Vyūha arranged by Bhīma⁵. The third Śrutāyus is mentioned as the King of the Ambaṣṭhas who were as much allied to the Kōśalas as the Kṣudrakas were to the Mālavas⁶. These Kṣudrakas and Mālavas were the Oxydrakai and the Malloi of the Greeks⁷. They have also been mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali⁸. These Mālavas were the descendants of Sāvitrī's father Aśvapati, the king of Kekaya, by his wife Mālavi⁹. It is not certain as to which of these above three Śrutāyuses was the Aikṣvāka king killed

¹ H. J. I, 15, 30; Bṛm. 8, 91.

² Gd. MBh. VI, 54 ch.

³ Gd. MBh. VII, 91 ch.

⁴ Gd. MBh. VII, 91 ch.

⁵ Gd. MBh. VI, 51, 18. ⁶ Gd. MBh. VI, 51, 15-16. ⁷ Mc Crindle 113.

⁸ MBh. IV, 1, 168.

⁹ Kumb. MBh. III, 298, 61.

in the Bhārata war. But it is probable that he was the Ambaṣṭha King Śrutāyus who was killed by Arjuna. These Ambaṣṭhas are explicitly mentioned in the Mahābhārata as



Kṣattriyas. Śrutāyus thus according to the Purāṇas belonged to the 16th step below Daśaratha. Thus he was a contemporary of Bṛhadvala. His father Bhānūścandra was then the contemporary of Arjuna or Śrīkṛṣṇa. Bhānūścandra thus appears to belong to the 15th step below Daśaratha.

Thus the Ikṣvāku line that sprang from Daśaratha through Ahinagu and his son Sahasrāśva indicates that the age of Daśaratha or Divōdāsa or Abalyā was removed from the Mahābhārata episode by approximately about 15 generations.

Now let us turn to the other branch which is described in the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa, the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as well as in the Harivaṃśa and the Brahma. Pāripātra (or Pāriyātra), the son of Ahinagu, had, according to the Vāyu, a son named Dala, the father of Bala¹. The Brahmāṇḍa says the same, namely that Pāriyātra's son Dala was the father of Bala². The Viṣṇu after introducing Rūpa and Ruru between Ahinagu and Pāripātra says³ that Pāripātra's successor was Dala and Dala's successor was Chala. The Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa says⁴ that after Bala, the son of Pāriyātra, was the king Sthala. The Harivaṃśa says⁵ that Ahinagu's Dāyāda was Śudhanvan and that Śudhanvan's son was the father of Anala. It is evident that the Harivaṃśa chooses to call Pāripātra-Pāriyātra by the name Śudhanvan and that its Anala is the same as Bala of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, Chala of the Viṣṇu, and Sthala of the Bhāgavata. The Brahma says⁶ that Śudhanvan, the son of Ahinagu, had a son who was the father of Śala. Now turn to the Mahābhārata and notice that the Ikṣvāku king Parikṣit who had his capital at Ayōdhyā in the Aryāvarta, married Suśōbbhanā the daughter of a Maṇḍuka king (evidently the totem name for the non-Aryan tribe) named Āyus and had three sons named Śala, Dala and Bala by her⁷. It is at once easy to detect that the king Parikṣit of the Mahābhārata is no other than the king Pāriyātra or Pāripātra of the Purāṇas and that Śala, Dala and Bala were brothers and succeeded to the

¹ Va. 88, 204.

² Bd. III, 64, 204.

³ Va. IV, 4, 48.

⁴ Bh. IX, 12, 2.

⁵ Hv. I, 10, 50.

⁶ Brm. 8, 90.

⁷ Kumb. MBh. III, 195 ch.; Gd. MBh. III, 192 ch.

throne of Ayōdhyā one after another. The hopeless confusion amongst the Purāṇas about the relationships of these kings to one another is thus removed by the Mahābhārata. Particularly notice here that although the succession here was collateral, yet the Purāṇas go on erroneously representing it as lineal. Similarly Rūpa and Ruru of the Viṣṇu were the elder brothers of Pāripātra and ruled at Ayōdyā only for short time, and as such, have been excluded from the lists in the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa, the Bhāgavata, the Harivaṃśa and the Brāhma. Bala's son is called Anka in the Vāyu¹, Uluka in the Brahmāṇḍa², Uktha in the Viṣṇu and the Harivaṃśa³; the Brahma calls him Ukyā but erroneously represents him as the son of Śala⁴. The



Bhāgavata calls his Arka⁵. The correct name however is Uktha as stated in the Viṣṇu and the Harivaṃśa. The addition of the consonant *ṃ* in the Brahma is the scribes corruption for *ṁ*. The word 'Uktha' primarily means a 'Stōtra' performed with unrecited Mantras (Apragīta-Mantra-Sādhyā Stōtra, Rv. I, 84, 5). But secondarily it means the famous Ukthya-Yāga or Ukthya-sacrifice. (Vācaspatya Abhidhāna.) The method of performing the Ukthya-Yāga is given in the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (IV, 3.) Consult also the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VI, 13) to have a knowledge of the discussion regarding the different status of the

¹ Va. 83, 265.

² Bd. III, 61, 205.

³ Va. IV, 4, 48; H. I, 15, 31. ⁴ Brm. 8, 32.

⁵ Bh. IX, 12, 2.

Hōtrakas (= Assistants to the Hotṛ) who have Ukthas of their own, and those who have not. In the introduction to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Part III, p. xiv to p. xvi,) Dr. Julius Eggeling discusses the method of performing the Ukthya-sacrifice. Then it will be realised that 'Uktha' means the celebrated Yāga, or sacrifice performed with 'Ukthas' or unrecited hymns.

Now after knowing the meaning of the name of this Aikṣvāka king we take a due note of the appellation given to him by the Purāṇas. He is unanimously called Dharmātman (=devoted to Dharma) in the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa, the Harivamśa and the Brāhmaṇḍa. The word "Dharmātman" in its oldest sense means 'one whose whole self was in Yajña or Sacrifice'.¹ Thus both the appellation Dharmātman and the name Uktha prove that this Aikṣvāka King was really devoted to and expert in sacrificial matters or 'Yajñas'. We shall see afterwards that this king Uktha (=Yajña) is mentioned in the Mahābhārata. He was defeated by Bhīma previous to the Rājāsūya. Uktha's son Vajrānābha was the father of Śaṅkhana.² Śaṅkhana's son Dhyuṣitāsava or Vyūṣitāsava was the father of Viśvasaha³. The last mentioned king Viśvasaha was the father of the famous Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya.⁴ This famous king Hiraṇyanābha was the contemporary of Janamejaya Pāriksita, the grandson of Abhimanyu Ārjuni, as we now proceed to show.

First it is remarked of Hiraṇyanābha that Yājñavalkya learnt the science of Yōga from him.⁵ Śrīdhara, the commentator of the Bhāgavata, has been mistaken by apply-

¹ Va. 88, 205; Bd III, 64, 205; Hv. I, 15, 31; Brm. 8, 92.

² Nilakaṇṭha on Kumb. MBh. XII, 58, 21.

³ Va. 88, 205; Bd III, 64, 205; Hv. I, 15, 31.

⁴ Va. 88, 206; Bd III, 64, 206.

⁵ Va. 88, 207; Bd III, 64, 207.

* उक्ताद्विष्णोर्गोपी पाचनवर्कजं योजयत् । Va. 88, 208; Bd. III, 64, 208; cf. also Bh. IX, 12, 3; Hv. I, 15, 31.

ing the epithet Kauśalya to Yājñavalkya; his "यतः यत् सकाशात् कौशलो याज्ञवल्काः &c." should be "यतः यत् सकाशात् कौशलात् याज्ञवल्काः &c." Kālidāsa, in his *Raghuvamśa* has erroneously taken the term Kauśalya, to be the name of the son of Hiranyanābha. Now Yājñavalkya was the disciple¹ and the nephew² of Vaiśampāyana with whom he quarrelled and compiled the Śukla Yajurveda³. Vaiśampāyana (=the descendant of Viśampa) was a contemporary of the king Janamejaya, (the grandson of Abhimanyu), to whom he related the story of the Mahābhārata at his court. Then it follows that Hiranyanābha Kauśalya and Janamejaya were contemporaries because Yājñavalkya learnt both from Hiranyanābha as well as from Vaiśampāyana. The same fact is supported by the statement in the *Purāṇas*⁴ that Śatānika I, the son of Janamejaya Parikṣita (=the grandson of Abhimanyu Arjuni) learnt the three Vedas from Yājñavalkya who, as we have seen just now, was the pupil of Hiranyanābha Kauśalya. Now the

¹ शिष्यान्व सप्तमीय सवेद्यन्यापनेऽन्योद् । Va. 61, 13.

यज्ञवल्कात्, कुं श्री याज्ञवल्क्यामजातोद् । Va. 61, 14.

यत् यत् सकात्, कुं श्री याज्ञवल्क्याय जगत् । Rd. II, 35, 13.

बहुर्दहरीः याज्ञाः सप्तविंशत्यह्वानतिः ।

वेद्यन्यापनेऽन्यापने जायमान्यापकार वे ॥

याज्ञवल्क्याय तस्याभूत् सप्तमस्तुतो दिवः ।

शिष्यः परमपरोक्षो सुवर्णविरः सदा ॥ Va. III, 5, 1, —2.

Of. also Bh. XII, 6, 61, 62.

² Gd. MBh. XII, 318, 17; 19; Kumbh. MBh. XII, 325, 17; 19.

³ यज्ञवल्को दहो तस्मै यज्ञं वि भगवान् यतिः ।

यज्ञादयामसंवादि यानि वेदि न तदुदयः ॥ Vs. III, 5, 27; cf. also Madh. Brd. Ar. VI, 5, 3.

ततो हानि सप्तान् श्रीं हन्त्यादित्यमहम् ।

तानि तस्मै दहो हन्तः त्वयो वे जगत्पतिः ।

याज्ञवल्काय याज्ञवल्को याज्ञवल्क्याय श्रीमो ॥ Va. 61, 21.

⁴ तस्मै यज्ञः सप्तमीको याज्ञवल्कात् श्रीं यज्ञः ।

यज्ञाजान् शिवाजान् श्रीमकात् परमेष्ठि ॥ Bh. IX, 22, 38

तस्यापत्, सप्तमीको यज्ञवल्कात् । श्रीमो याज्ञवल्कात्

वेद्यन्यापने &c. &c. &c. Va. IV, 21, 2.

Vāyu in one place says¹ that the self-controlled king Hiranya-
nābha Kauśalya was the disciple of the grandson [पौत्रस्य]
of Jaimini. But in another place the Vāyu relates² in
detail that Jaimini taught his son Sumantu the Vedas,
and these Sumantu taught his son Sutvan, and Sutvan again
handed them down to his son Sukarman, and Sukarman
got two very intelligent disciples, the one having been Pau-
syañji and the other; the king Hiranyanābha Kauśalya.
This detailed information in the Vāyu seems to be founded
on truth as a detailed information can only come out of a
well-informed source. Accordingly there should be पौत्रस्य
instead of पौत्रस्य in the second line of the verse in the Vāyu
(88, 207). Most probably the prefix 'प' has been omitted
for the sake of the metre. The Bhāgavata in one place
says³ that Hiranyanābha Kauśalya was the disciple of Jai-
mini, remarking however that
Yājñavalkya learnt the science
of Adhyātma Yōga of Hiranya-
nābha. But the Bhāgavata
in another and more reliable
place definitely states⁴ that
Sumantu learnt the Vedas of his
father Jaimini, and handed
them down to his son Sutvan;
and Sukarman, the disciple of



¹ हिरण्यनाभः कौशल्योऽभिज्ञस्तपसोऽभवत् ।
पौत्रस्य जैमिनोः शिष्यः कृत्वा सर्वं तु धर्मं च ॥ Va 88, 207.

² इत्यनन्तराचार्यान् सुमन्तुश्च जैमिनिः ।
सुमन्तुश्चापि सुमन्तं इत्यनन्तराचार्यं मनुः ॥
सुमन्तोश्च सुतं सुता ऽनन्तराचार्यं मनुः ॥
तु सप्तमनवीनाय सुमन्तोऽयम् संदिताः ।
मोक्षनाथं सप्तमस्य सुमन्तोऽयम् सर्वं च ॥
तस्य शिष्योऽभवत्पौत्रस्य पौत्रसि हिमवतम् ।
हिरण्यनाभः कौशल्योऽपि ततोऽप्युत्तराचार्यः ॥ Va 61, 27-34.

³ Bh, IX, 12, 3.

⁴ Bh, XII, 6, 75-77. This has escaped the notice of Wilson.

Sutvan, had Pausyañji and Hiranyanābha Kauśalya as his disciples. Thus according to the detailed informations of the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata, the relation may illustrated as in the adjoined tree : Hence when the Bhāgavata in one place calls Hiranyanābha, the pupil of Jaimini, it really means to say that Hiranyanābha was the distant disciple of that great teacher Jaimini.

The Viṣṇu in one place¹ calls Hiranyanābha the disciple of Jaimini, but in another place² relates that Sumantu was the son of Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa; and Sumantu's son [सुतः] Sukarman had two disciples, Hiranyanābha Kauśalya and Pausyañji. It is evident that the Viṣṇu, in its second account, has omitted Setvan between Sumantu and Sukarman, or that the word सुतः may be taken in the sense of a descendant. Thus the first account of the Viṣṇu really means that Hiranyanābha Kauśalya was the distant disciple of Jaimini.

The Brahmānda in one place says that Hiranyanābha Kauśalya was the disciple of Pausyañji and was remembered in the Eastern Sāman-works³; and that he read no less than five hundred Saṃhitās with his teacher and that it was from him that Yājñavalkya got the science of Yōga⁴. The Brahmānda in another place says that Jaimini taught his son Sumantu (the Sāmaveda), Sumantu taught his son Sutvan, Sunvān [evidently a corruption for Sūtvā] again taught his son Sukarman, and the last-named Sukarman had his two famous disciples Pausyañji and Hiranyanābha Kauśalya.⁵ Thus according to the second account of the Brahmānda, as according to all the other Purāṇas, Hiranyanābha was the disciple, not of Pausyañji, but of Sukarman, the great grand son of Jaimini. Hence in its first account the Brahmānda has corrupted प्रपौत्रस्य जैमिनिः शिष्यः into प्रपौत्रस्य स वै शिष्यः. It should be noticed in this

¹ Ye. IV, 4, 48.

² Ye. III, 6, 1-4.

³ Bd. III, 64, 207.

⁴ Bd. III, 64, 208.

⁵ Bd. II, 35, 31-33.

connection however that the Brāhmana disciple of Sukarman has been named Pausyañji in the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Bhāgavata, Pauspiñji in the Viṣṇu, and Pauspiṇḍya in the editions of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa¹ which omits steps between Jaimini and Pauspiṇḍya in shortly indicating the line of teachers.

Accordingly we have the third ground for holding that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was the contemporary of Janamejaya Pāriksita, the grandson of Abhimanyu Arjuni. For Jaimini being the disciple of Vyāsa was a contemporary of Pāṇḍu Hiranyanābha and Jaimini's son Sumantu was therefore the contemporary of Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Sumantu's son Sutvan may therefore be equated to Abhimanyu, and Sutvan's son Sukarman was therefore a contemporary of Parikṣit. Hiranyanābha Kausalya, the disciple of Sukarman, therefore, must belong to the same step with Janamejaya.



Fourthly again this synchronism is supported in a most interesting way by the Mahābhārata where we find that Bhīma defeated Bhīmadraja, the king of Kōśala, as well as Dīrghayajña, the virtuous king of Ayōdhyā, on the occasion of the Rājāsūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira². This information is extremely interesting, as it proves the existence of two branch lines of the Ikṣvākus at the age of the events of the Mahābhārata. Bhīmadraja was the king of Uttara Kōśala,

¹ Sam. Vidh. Br. III, 9, 8.

² अतः कुमार विपदे नो विनश्यन्नराजसू ।

कीचकादिपतिष्वेव ब्रह्महत्यादिभिरपि ॥

अयोध्यायां तु भर्तृणां श्रीधर्मज्ञां महापराजम् ।

अजस्रं वाक्यमर्च्यो नातिहोर्वै न कर्मणा ॥ Gd. MBh. II, 30, 1—2.

shortly called Kōśala, whose capital was Śrāvastī,¹ whereas Dirghayajña belonged to the Ayōdhyā line. Can Dirghayajña be identified with any of the kings intermediate between Pāripātra and Hiraṇyanābha? Yes, he is at once recognized to be the same as Uktha, the son of Bala in the Purāṇic list. Uktha, is the kind of Yajña or sacrifice. Dirghayajña means a long Yajña or sacrifice so that both mean the same.

This practice of changing the name of a king but keeping the meaning of the name the same, is common with the Purāṇas. For example, the name of the last Bārhadraṭha king who was murdered by his minister Punika in favour of the latter's son Pradyōta is given as Ripuñjaya in the Matsya² and the Viṣṇu³, but the Vāyu⁴ calls him Ariñjaya and the two names mean the same. Again the name of the son of Khaninetra of the line of Nābhānediṣṭa is given as Atibibhuti in the Viṣṇu⁵, but the Mahābhārata⁶ chooses to call him Suvarcas; and two names mean the same. Again the father-in-law of Sikhaṇḍin, the son of Drupada, has been called both Hiraṇyavarman⁷ and Hemavarman in the Mahābhārata and the two names mean the same. Again the grandfather of Śrutāyus Aikṣvāka has been named Candragiri⁸ in many Purāṇas but the Agni chooses to call him Candraparvata⁹ and the two names have the same meaning. There are other instances. Thus it will be admitted that Paurāṇikas, according to their convenience, used to change the name of any person keeping the sense unaltered by the change.

Similarly, Uktha of the Purāṇas has been changed into Yajña "the Tall" in the Mahābhārata, Uktha and Yajña

¹ "The capital of Kosala was Sravasti on the upper course of the Rapti" Smith's Oxford Students' History of India, 8th edition. Page 67; Kat-Sar-sag. 106, 43; 44.

² Mt. 271, 29.

³ Vs. IV, 24—1.

⁴ Va. 99, 307.

⁵ Vs. IV, 1, 16.

⁶ Gd. MBh. XIV, 4, 9. Gd. MBh. V, 191, 10.

⁷ Gd. MBh. V, 125, 7.

⁸ Mt. 12, 65.

⁹ Ag. 273, 39.

having the same meaning. The identity of Uktha and Yajña can also be inferred from the fact that virtually the same appellation (i. e. यमज्ञ and यमज्ञा) has been used both in the Mahābhārata and the Vāyu¹.

When young Brhadvala was ruling at Śrāvastī, old and pious Uktha (=Yajña) was then still ruling at Ayōdhyā, and it is for the reason that he was old and religious that we do not find him involved in the Mahābhārata battle in which both Śrutāyus and Brhadvala took part. Now, the fact that Brhadvala was the king of Kōsala whose capital was Śrāvastī², coupled with the fact that Prasenajit, the king of Kōsala, who was a lineal descendant of Brhadvala in the twenty-third degree, had his capital at Śrāvastī as well as the third fact that it was Śrāvastī which Śrīrāmacandra wished his son Lava to inherit³, prove that Brhadvala was descended from Lava and as such belonged to the Śrāvastī line; and it is really very striking that when we proceed upwards with his lineal ancestors, side by side with Śrutāyus's ancestors in the Matsya school of Purāṇas, we find that Pusya stands at the same step with Atithi, the son of Kuśa. It is at once evident then that Pusya cannot be the son of Lava. Had Pusya been the son of Hiranyanābha, and thus, had Brhadvala been the fourteenth in descent from Hiranyanābha, how could it be possible for Brhadvala to fight with a man (i. e. Abhimanyu) who was the grandfather of Janamejaya Pāriksita, the contemporary of Hiranyanābha? The conclusion therefore becomes inevitable that Pusya was the son of Lava. So that in the Śrāvastī line we have Lava, Pusya, Dhruvasandhi, Sudarśana, Agnivarṇa, Sighra,

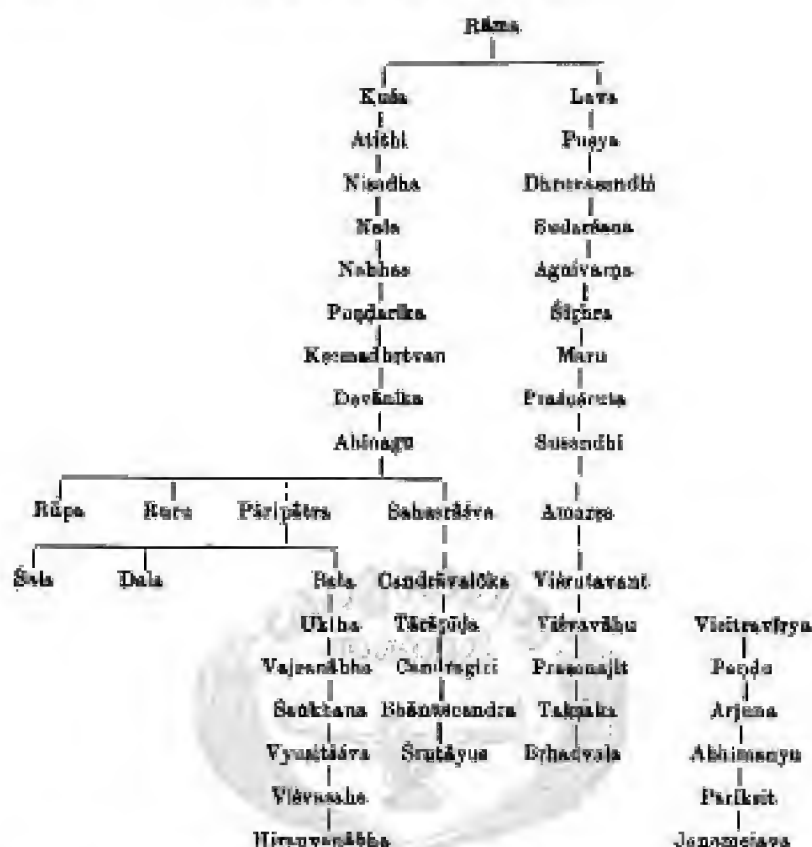
¹ Gd. MBh. II, 30, 2. Va. 88, 205. ² Kat-sar-sag. 100, 43; 44.

³ "The capital of Kōsala was 'Śrāvastī on the upper course of the Rapti'"—V. A. Smith's Oxford Students' History of India, 8th edition, page 57.

⁴ ब्राह्मणीयं पुत्री रक्षा बाहिरा य उवस ह । N. Ram. VII, 108, 5.

उपपत्तौ यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं ।

यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं यज्ञं ॥ Va. 88, 200.



Maru, Praśūruta, Susandhi, Amarṣa, and Viśrutavant. After Viśrutavant, we have on the authority of the Bhāgavata,¹ Viśravāhu, Prasenajit and Takṣaka. Then we have Bhādravala, the son of Takṣaka. The first line of the 209th verse of the 88th chapter of the Vāyu originally ran as “**पुषस्तु सवती विद्वान् &c.**” At an intermediate stage it stood as “**पुषस्तु सवती विद्वान् &c.**” At this stage the copyist was naturally tempted to show off his scholarship by converting it into “**पुषस्तु सवती विद्वान् &c.**” and thus a mistake is being carried on through hundreds of years.

There is yet another way of looking at the question. We know it as certain that the last Kāṇva King Suśarman was ousted by the seventh or the eighth king of the Andhras

¹ Bh. IX, 12, 7; 8

and yet the Purāṇas begin with the first Andhra king Śipraka as the successor of Suśarma. The same has happened here. The real history is that Hiranyanābha Kauśalya became a great Yōgin, so much so that the famous Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, the disciple and nephew of Vaiśampāyana, learnt of him the science of Yōga. He was a great Vedic scholar and devoted his whole life to Vedic teaching. His disciples were well-known as the Eastern Saman-singers in contradistinction to the disciples of Pausyañji, who were known as the Northern Saman-Singers¹. Vedavyāsa, after compiling the Vedas, handed them to his four famous disciples who, in their turn, taught their disciples and thus the propagation of Vedic teaching was carried on by several successions of teachers, and the position of Hiranyanābha Kauśalya was the fifth in the series below Vedavyāsa as represented.

It will be established afterwards that Vedavyāsa compiled and grouped the Vedas after the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha was burnt down by this youthful grandson Arjuna Pāṇḍava, and that therefore the famous king Hiranyanābha Kauśalya flourished considerably after the events of the Mahābhārata.

Vedavyāsa
|
Jaimini
|
Samantu
|
Sutvan
|
Sukarman
|
Hiranyanābha

There is a fifth ground for holding that Hiranyanābha kauśalya was contemporary of Janamejaya Pāriksita. We have already seen that Pausyañji and Hiranyanābha were class friends as both of them were the pupils of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini, the disciple of Vedavyāsa². The Viṣṇu informs us that Hiranyanābha's disciple was Kṛti and that this Kṛti taught his disciples twenty-four Samhitās³. The Vāyu says that Hiranyanābha's disciple Kṛta who was the son of a king, was the author of

¹ Va. 61, 34-35.

² Va. 61, 27-34.

³ Va. III, 6, 7.

twenty-four Saṃhitās.¹ The spelling Kṛta here is the scribe's error for Kṛti as the Vāyu corrects the spelling Kṛta into Kṛti afterwards by remarking that Pausyañji and Kṛti were the authors of Saṃhitās.² In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat³ we find that Yājñavalkya and a certain Janaka were great friends and that this Janaka learnt much from Yājñavalkya. We also find there⁴ that this Janaka performed a sacrifice on the occasion of which there is great debate in Mithilā. In that debate scholars like Aśvala, Yājñavalkya, Ārtaḥhāga—the son of Jaratkāru, Kabōla—the son of Kuṣitaka, Uṇasta Cākṛayana, Vidadgāha Śakalya, Uddālaka Āruṇi—the preceptor of Yājñavalkya, &c. took part. The point to be noticed here is this that Yājñavalkya and Kṛti were the disciples of Hiranyanābha Kausalya; and we have just now seen that Yājñavalkya and a certain Janaka were great friends. Can there be any doubt then that this Kṛti was any other than Kṛti, the son of Vahulāśva, of the Janaka dynasty? It will be remembered that Uddālaka Āruṇi, Upamanyn, and Veda were the disciples of Āyōda Dhaumya⁵ and that Veda was approached by Janamejaya Pāriksita to become his priest⁶. Thus it follows that Uddālaka Āruṇi, Veda, Janamejaya Pāriksita, Hiranyanābha Kausalya were contemporaries. This is also strengthened by the fact that Yājñavalkya learnt not only of Vaiśampāyana⁷ and Hiranyanābha Kausalya⁸ but also of Uddālaka Āruṇi.⁹ This contemporaneity of Hiranyanābha and Janamejaya Pāriksita is further strengthened by the fact that Vahulāśva was reigning at Mithilā when Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra went there to see his Brāhmaṇa friend Śrutadeva¹⁰. The

¹ Va. 61, 44.² Va. 61, 48.³ Brd. Ar. IV, 1—4.⁴ Brd. Ar. III, 1—9. ⁵ Gd. MBh. I, 3, 21—23. ⁶ Gd. MBh. I, 3, 82.⁷ Va. 61, 13—18; Bd. II, 23, 18—21; Va. III, 5, 1—2; Bh. XII, 6, 61—62.⁸ Va. 88, 208; Bh. IX, 12, 3; Bd. III, 64, 208.⁹ Brd. Ar. VI, 3, 15; 4, 33.¹⁰ Bh. X, 86, 13—17.

genealogical table shows that Kṛti was born at an advanced age of his father Vahulāśva.

There is a sixth ground for holding that Hiraṇyanābha was a contemporary of Janamejaya younger or older. In the *Harivaṃśa*¹ we find that the infant great grandson of Janamejaya Pāriksita was taken care of by the sage Pippalāda. In the *Praśna Upaniṣat* we find that the same sage Pippalāda was approached by Sukeśā Bhūradvāja who asked him (Pippalāda) a question put to him (i. e. Sukeśā) by Prince Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya before.² Pippalāda seems to have been very old, when he took care of Janamejaya's great grandson Ajapārśva.

There is a seventh reason for the same contemporaneity, for we know that Āstika, the son of Jaratkāru, attended the great sacrifice in which Janamejaya almost exterminated the non-Aryan race of the Nāgas,³ and we have just now seen that Ārtabhāga, the son of Jaratkāru, was a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi. Yājñavalkya, Kṛti Janaka &c. Ārtabhāga and Āstika most probably mean the same person.

The eighth ground for accepting the same contemporaneity as true is derived thus : We shall see in a subsequent chapter that Indrōta Daivāpa Śaunaka performed sacrifices for Janamejaya Pāriksita.⁴ This Indrōta Daivāpa Śaunaka taught his son Dṛti Aindrōta Śaunaka,⁵ and Dṛti Aindrōta again taught his disciple Puluṣa Prācinayōgya.⁶ Puluṣa's pupil was his son Satyayajña Pauluṣi.⁷ Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi &c. approached Uddālaka Āruṇi for knowledge

¹ Hv. III, 1. 3—14.

² Praś. Up. VI, 1.

³ Kumb MBh. I, 54, 33.

⁴ Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 4, 1.

⁵ Yam. Br. 2; Jaim. Up. Br. III, 40, 2.

⁶ Jaim. Up. Br. III, 40, 2.

⁷ Jaim. Up. Br. III, 40, 2.

of Atman,¹ and Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi learnt from and therefore was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha,² the disciple of Hiranyanābha. The relation is illustrated in the following table :

Indra's Dairāpa				
Devi Aindrita	Janamejaya	Hiranyanābha	Upamanyu, Uddālaka	
Pradisa Prācīnapōya		Kṛti Janaka, Yajnavalkya	Prācīnashāla	
Satyajāna Pandita				

The above relation accords well with the account of of the Mahābhārata where we already found that Upamanyu, Veda and Uddālaka Āruṇi were the pupils of Āyōda Dhaumya and of these, Veda officiated as the priest of Janamejaya : It is quite natural that Prācīnashāla, the son of Upamanyu, should be a younger contemporary of Kṛti Janaka, the disciple of Hiranyanābha.

Who was the son and successor of Hiranyanābha Kausalya ? In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ we find that Atpāra's son Para Kausalya who performed an Abhijit Atirātra, was wellknown as Hiranyanābha Kausalya. It appears from this that Hiranyanābha's son was Atpāra and Atpāra's son was Para. The use of two successive patronymics indicates the name of the father as well as of the grand-father. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra says that the Vaideha king Para, the son of Ahpāra, performed the Viśvajit Atirātra and that thus Hiranyanābha Kausalya bound his sacrificial horse and gave away plentiful regions in charity.⁴ Professors Macdonell and Keith evidently make a mistake in reading the spelling of the patronymic. The spelling here is

¹ Chand. Up. XI, 1.

² Brd. Ar. Up. V, 14, 8.

³ ऐतरेय बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्ब्राह्मणे जने ह पर आत्पार इति कौशल्यो राजा तदेतद्-
माधवाभिधीतम् ।

आत्पारस्य परः पुत्रीत्य' वीथ्यसम्भवम् ।

वैत्यसमाधः कौशल्यो दिवः पूर्वा अमरुत ॥ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 4.

⁴ विश्वजितेन ह पर आत्पार इति वैदेहः ॥ तदनेवापि यजमाना मोचते ॥ २ ॥

आत्पारस्य परजातो जे' वीथ्यसम्भवम् ।

वैत्यसमाधः कौशल्यो दिवः पूर्वा अमरुत ॥ इति । Śaṅkh. Śrao XVI, 9, 11-13.

Āhpāra' (आह्वार) and not Āhlāra (आह्वार) as they have supposed (Vedic Index Vol. I, p. 491). The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (XXV, 16 3) agrees with the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra in calling him Para Āhpāra. Macdonell and Keith are again wrong in stating that the reading here (i. e. in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa) is Ātpāra (Vedic Index Vol I, p. 491). The Jaiminiya Upaniṣat Brāhmaṇa (II, 6, 11) and the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (V, 6, 5, 3) agree with the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in calling him Para Ātpāra. The correct form seems to be 'Ātpāra' instead of 'Āhpāra' and the reading 'Hiranyanābha' of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra is a corrupt one for the patronymic Hairanyanābha. The genealogy may then stand thus : Hiranyanābha, Ātpāra, Para.

Thus this is certain that Pusya was the son of Lava and not of Hiranyanābha, as erroneously represented in the Purāṇas owing to the corrupt reading 'पुष्यस्तस्य इतो विद्वान्' which should have been पुष्यस्तु सत्यतो विद्वान्, &c. Most probably the Kausalya king Para Ātpāra Hairanyanābha conquered Videha, while Divākara, a descendant of Bṛhadvala of the Śrāvastī line, occupied Ayōdhyā, but the Purāṇas begin, not with the intermediate Divākara but from the top with Pusya, the son of Lava of the Śrāvastī line. Hence Divākara, the king of the Śrāvastī line has been mentioned as having his seat at Ayōdhyā¹. Divākara's descendant continued to rule with their capitals both at Śrāvastī as well as at Ayōdhyā, because we have the explicit mention in the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara of the existence of the Ayōdhyā king named Kṛtavarman who had, by Kalāvatī, a daughter named Mṛgāvatī². According to the Kalpā-Sūtra of the Jāinas, Mṛgāvatī was the queen of the King Śatānika II of Kauśāmbī; Sugupta was the minister and Sugupta's wife Nandā was the lady companion of the queen Mṛgāvatī.

¹ Va. 90, 282.

² Kat. Sac. 9, 29 : 39 ; 60 ; 71.

The number of lineal descendants of Kuśa down to Saṅkhana as well as the number of lineal descendants of Lava down to Takṣaka, the father of Bhadravala, indicate that the age of Daśaratha or Divādhī was earlier than the events of the Mahābhārata by fifteen generations.	Daśaratha	
	(1) Rāma	
	(2) Kuśa	(2) Lava
	(3) Atithi	(3) Puṣya
	(4) Niśadha	(4) Dhruvasandhi
	(5) Nala	(5) Sudarśana
	(6) Nabhas	(6) Agnivarṇa
	(7) Puṇḍarika	(7) Singhra
	(8) Kṣemadhṛtvan	(8) Manu
	(9) Devānīka	(9) Praśūsruta
	(10) Ahinagu	(10) Susandhi

Rūpa	Ruru	(11) Pāripātra	Sahasrāśva	(11) Amarṣa
Sala	Dala	Bala	Candrāvalōka	(12) Viśrutavant
		(13) Uktha	Tārpīda	(13) Viśvavāhu
		(14) Vajranābha	Candragiri	(14) Prasenañjit
		(15) Saṅkhana	Bhānuścandra	(15) Takṣaka
		(16) Vyusitāśva	Śrutāyus	(16) Bhadravala
		(17) Viśvasaha		(17) Bhadraraṇa
		(18) Hiranyanābha		(18) Urukṣaya
		(19) Atpāra		(19) Vataavyūha
		(20) Para		(20) Prati-vyūha
				(21) Divākara

We have particularly noticed the important point that while the Vāyu School of Purāṇas gives only one line of descendants of Ahinagu and appears to add the Śrāvastī line of kings after Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya owing to a corrupt reading, the Matsya school gives just the other branch. Both the Vāyu school up to Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya and the Matsya school up to Śrutāyus are right. With this idea in our head, we proceed to examine the Janaka dynasty from Śinadhvaja Janaka, the contemporary of Daśaratha and Atithigva Divōdāsa.



CHAPTER XI.

THE JANAKA DYNASTY.

It is related in detail in the Rāmāyana how Sudhanvan, the king of Sāṅkāśyā, invested Mithilā, the capital of Śiradhvaja Janaka who thereupon fought and killed the king Sudhanvan, and placed his own brother Kuśadhvaja on the throne of Sāṅkāśyā.¹ The Viṣṇu also says² that Kuśadhvaja, the king of Sāṅkāśyā, was the brother of Śiradhvaja. The Vāyu too attests the same fact.³ Hence the wrong statement⁴ in the Bhāgavata that Kuśadhvaja was the son of Śiradhvaja is rejected. Dharmadhvaja was the son of Kuśadhvaja⁵. Dharmadhvaja had two sons named Kṛtadhvaja and Mitadhvaja. Keśidhvaja, the son of Kṛtadhvaja, fought Khāṇḍikya, the son of Mitadhvaja⁶. It is tempting to identify this Khāṇḍikya, the enemy of Keśidhvaja, with Khāṇḍika, the enemy of Keśin of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.⁷ But there are arguments against that. Particularly notice in this connection that 'Khāṇḍikya' or Khāṇḍika' is a patronymic derived from Khapdika. Keśin Dārḥya (or Dālḥya) was the king of the Pāṇcālas,⁸ and learnt from Khapdika, the son of Udbhāra, the method of atoning for a bad omen at a sacrifice,⁹; he was the author of a Sāman,¹⁰ and was taught by a golden bird.¹¹ The Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā has corrupted 'Khapdika' into 'Ṣaṇḍika'.¹² However, with Keśidhvaja and Khāṇḍikya

¹ N. Ram. I.

² Va. IV, 5, 12.

³ Va. 89, 18.

⁴ Bh. IX, 13, 19.

⁵ Bh. IX, 13, 19.

⁶ Va. VI, 6, 7; Bhv. IX, 13, 19.

⁷ Bh. IX, 13, 21; Va. VI, 6, 10.

⁸ Baudh. Śrau. XVII, 54.

⁹ Jaim. Up. Bra. III, 29, 1 et. seq.

¹⁰ Sat. Bra. XI, 8, 4, 6.

¹¹ Panc. Bra. XIII, 10, 8.

¹² Saṅkh. Bra. VII, 4.

¹³ Maitra. Sam. I, 4, 12.

the two descendants of Kuśadavaja, the Purāṇas finish the kings of Śāṅkāśyā. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa wrongly prolongs the Janaka dynasty by interweaving this Śāṅkāśyā line into the Mithilā line between Śiradhvaja and his son Bhānumant. Bhānumant was really the son of Śiradhvaja Janaka.¹ Bhānumant's son was Śatadyumna² whom the Vāyu corrupts into Pradyumna.³ Śatadyumna's son was Śuci⁴ who is named Muni⁵ in the Vāyu. This Śuci-Muni had a son named Urjavaha.⁶ After Urjavaha we have Sutaadvāja⁷ who is named Satvaradhvaja⁸ in the Viṣṇu. The Bhāgavata calls him Śanadvāja⁹ but reverses the order of succession by making Urjaketu (evidently a variant for Urjavaha) the son of Śanadvāja, but we reject this order on the authority of the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu. Śanadvāja-Sutaadvāja-Satvaradhvaja had a son who is named Sakuni in the Vāyu but Kuni in the Viṣṇu.¹⁰ The Bhāgavata omits him altogether. From Kuni, the Janaka dynasty branched off into two lines one of which is preserved in the Vāyu and the other in the Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇu however after finishing the list it has taken up to describe, comes round and describes the Vāyu list, and introduces minor modifications.

Now let us take up the line that sprang from Kuni and has been described in the Vāyu. We have successively¹¹ Svāgata-Śāśvata, Suvarcas-Sudhanvan, Śruta, Suśruta, Jaya, Vijaya, Rta, Sunaya, Vitahavya, Dhṛti, Vahulāśva and Kṛti. We check this Vāyu list with the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata lists and find Subhāsa between Sudhanvan-Suvarcas and Su-Śruta in the Viṣṇu, but the Bhāgavata mentions Śruta after Subhāṣaṇa and omits Suśruta; so that

¹ Va. 89, 18; Vs. IV, 5, 12.

² Va. 89, 19.

³ Va. 89, 19.

⁴ Va. 89, 20.

⁵ Bh. IX, 13, 22.

⁶ Va. IV, 5, 13; Bh. IX, 13, 21.

⁷ Bh. IX, 13, 22; Va. IV, 5, 13.

⁸ Va. 89, 19; Vs. IV, 5, 13.

⁹ Va. IV, 5, 13.

¹⁰ Va. IV, 5, 13; Va. 89, 20.

¹¹ Va. 89, 20-23.

in all the Purāṇas, the number of kings intermediate between Sudhanvan-Suvarcas and Jaya is only two.

It is probable that Śubhāṣa and Śruta were the two sons of Suvarcas-Sudhanvan and Subhāṣa died after a very short reign leaving his brother Śruta to succeed to the throne of Mithilā, and as such, has been omitted from the Vāyu list.

Now let us turn to the Viṣṇu list. There we have the following successors¹ of Kuni :—Añjana, R̥tujit, Ariṣṭanemi, Śrutāyus, Sūryāśva, Sañjaya, Kṣemāri, Anenas, Mīnaratha, and Satyaratha. Añjana of the Viṣṇu list is Aja in the Bhāgavata, while R̥tujit is Purujit. It is tempting to identify this R̥tujit with Kratajit Jānaki, the priest of Rajana Kauṇḍeya (Taitt. Sam. II, 2, 8, 1 ; Panc. Bra. XIII, 4, 11. Was Añjana, the son of Kuni, the same as Rajana, the son of Kuni mentioned in the Vedic literature ? After Satyaratha, the Viṣṇu practically confesses that it does not know the name of his son but that Satyaratha's grandson was Upagu². The latter has been named Upaguru in the Bhāgavata³. After Upagu, we have Śruta and Upagupta in the Viṣṇu,⁴ but the Bhāgavata introduces Agni between Upaguru and Upagupta.⁵ This shows that Śruta and Agni were one and the same person. Accordingly after Satyaratha, we take Sātyarathi, Upagu, Agni, and Upagupta successively, and Vasu is included after Upagupta according to the Bhāgavata.⁶ Then Ananta of the Bhāgavata is recognized to be the same as Śāśvata of the Viṣṇu i.e., Svāgata of the Vāyu. The Viṣṇu after finishing this line with Upagupta comes round to describe the Vāyu list. The greatest probability is that the kingdom of the last king Vasu of this line passed into the hands of some descendant of Kṛti Janaka, and the same old Purāṇic trickery is exhibited by the Viṣṇu which mentions not the name of the intermediate king but

¹ Va. IV, 5, 13.

² Bh. IX, 13, 24.

³ Bh. IX, 13, 24.

⁴ Va. IV, 5, 13.

⁵ Va. IV, 5, 13.

⁶ Bh. IX, 13, 26.

begins from the top with the first king Śāśvata—Svāgata of the other branch dynasty.

Thus on the genealogical table, Kṛti naturally falls at the same step with Yājñavalkya, the disciple of Hiranyanābha Kausalya. We have already seen that Pausyañji and Hiranyanābha Kausalya were class-friends, as both of them were the pupils of Sukarman, the great grandson of Vyāsa's disciple Jainini.¹ We also have it from the Viṣṇu that a certain Kṛti was the disciple of Hiranyanābha and taught his disciples twenty-four Samhitās.² The Vāyu also says that Hiranyanābha's disciple Kṛta who was the son of a king, was the author of twenty-four Samhitās, and delivered them to his disciples.³ Afterwards the Vāyu corrects the spelling Kṛta into Kṛti by remarking that Pausyañji and Kṛti were the authors of Samhitās.⁴ In the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣat we find that Yājñavalkya and a certain Janaka were great friends and that both learnt from each other.⁵ We also find there that this Janaka performed a Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice on the occasion of which there was a great debate in Mithilā⁶. In that debate Yājñavalkya came off to be the greatest philosopher, all others assembled having been non-plussed by him. The famous Pāñcāla scholar Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa, took part in that debate.⁷ It will be remembered that Uddālaka Āruṇi, and Veda were class friends⁸ and that the latter was approached by Janamejaya Pārikṣita, the grandson of Abhimanyu,

¹ Va. 61, 33.

² हिरण्यनाभविष्यत् ऋतिर्विदति संहितान् ।

मेवाह कतिनामसौ विद्वन्महः स महापतिः ॥ Va. III, 5, 7.

³ ह्यसौ हिरण्यनाभसः कतिविधौ मुपासीत ।

सोऽकरोत् ऋतिविद्वत् संहितान् दिवदानतः ।

मेवाह वेद विद्वन्महो &c. &c. ॥ Va. 61, 44.

The phrase कतिविद्वत् hardly yields any meaning. It is the scribe's error for कति, विद्वत् ॥

⁴ श्रीकृष्णस्य कतिविद्वत् संहितानां विद्वत्सहो ॥ Va. 61, 48.

⁵ Brd. Ar. IV, 1-4.

⁶ Brd. Ar. III, 1-9.

⁷ Brd. Ar. III, 7.

⁸ Gd. MBh. I, 3, 21 ; 22.

to become his priest.¹ Thus Uddālaka, Veda, Janamejaya, Hiranyanābha were contemporaries. This is also proved by the fact that Yājñavalkya learnt not only from Hiranyanābha² and Vaiśampāyana,³ but also from Uddālaka Āruṇi.⁴

Now we have found just now that Kṛti was the disciple of Hiranyanābha and we have also seen before that Yājña valkya too was the disciple of Hiranyanābha. Can there be any doubt then that Kṛti was any other Kṛti Janaka and that in his Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice he invited the old Pāñcāla scholar Uddālaka Āruṇi and his own class-friend Yājñavalkya? The corrupt spelling Kṛta for the correct name Kṛti of the Janaka dynasty has been responsible for the misplacement of a synchronistic remark in the Purāṇas. It will be remembered that Ugrāyudha who belonged to the line of Dvimīḍha and who was killed in a fight by Bhīṣma Śāntanava,⁵ was the son of a king named Kṛta.⁶ The Purāṇists remembered that some king Kṛta (Kṛti was the correct name) was the disciple of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and finding no other king bearing the name they pounced on Ugrāyudha's father⁷ to have been that disciple. The mistake is evident on the very face of it. To determine the position of Kṛta, we have it that his son Ugrāyudha killed Prṣata's grand-uncle Nila⁸ and was anxious to marry Satyavatī after the death of Śantanu. For this reason, Ugrāyudha belongs to the same rank with Nila or Śantanu. Accordingly Kṛta, Pratipa etc., belong to the same step on the genealogical table. Thus Kṛta having been no less than seven generations above Hiranyanābha could not have been the disciple of the latter. Kṛti was certainly born at an advanced age of his father Vahulāśva whom Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva

¹ Gd. MBh. I, 3, 82.

² Va. 83, 202; Bh. IX, 12, 3; Bd. III, 64, 203.

³ Va. 61, 13-18; Bd. II, 35, 18-21; Vs. III, 5, 1-2; Bṛ. XII, 6, 61-62.

⁴ Madh. Brd. Ar. VI, 3, 15; 4, 33.

⁵ Hv. I, 20, 35.

⁶ Hv. I, 20, 44. Va. 99, 191.

⁷ Hv. I, 20, 42; 43. Va. 99, 189, 190.

⁸ Mt. 49, 77; 78.

found reigning at Mithilā, when he went there to see his Brāhmaṇa friend Śrutadeva.¹ The genealogical table indicates that Vahulāśva was then a young man and that his father Dhṛti died at an early age when Śṛikṛṣṇa went to Mithilā.

Now in the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣat we find that Śveta-ketu, the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi, as well as Kahōḍa, the son of Kuṣitaka, took part in the debate with Yājñavalkya, on the occasion of the Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice, held by Janaka who, as we have seen, was no other than Kṛtī Janaka. In the Mahābhārata² we get the very interesting tant information that Kahōḍa was the pupil of Uddālaka, the father of Svetaketu, and that Uddālaka gave his daughter Sujātā in marriage to his obedient disciple Kahōḍa. By Sujātā, Kahōḍa had his son named Aṣṭāvakra. Being desirous of money, Kahōḍa approached a certain Janaka, the king of Videha. The court-pandit Vandin discomfited him in a debate. Kahōḍa was kept in a confinement and was relieved after twelve years by his son Aṣṭāvakra who defeated the Sūta scholar Vandin in a disputation.³ This Janaka has been addressed as Ugrasena and as Aindradyumni *i. e.*, the son of Indradyumna. The probability is that Upagupta (or Uragupta) and Ugrasena were one and the same person and that he was ruling at one of the two principalities into which Videha was divided between the two branch dynasties that issued from Kuni. In the same way Sāṃkāśyā was divided between Keśidhvaja and Khāṇḍikya. The Janaka dynasty wrongly-prolonged in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa thus seems to be complete in the Vāyu, so far as one branch line is concerned.

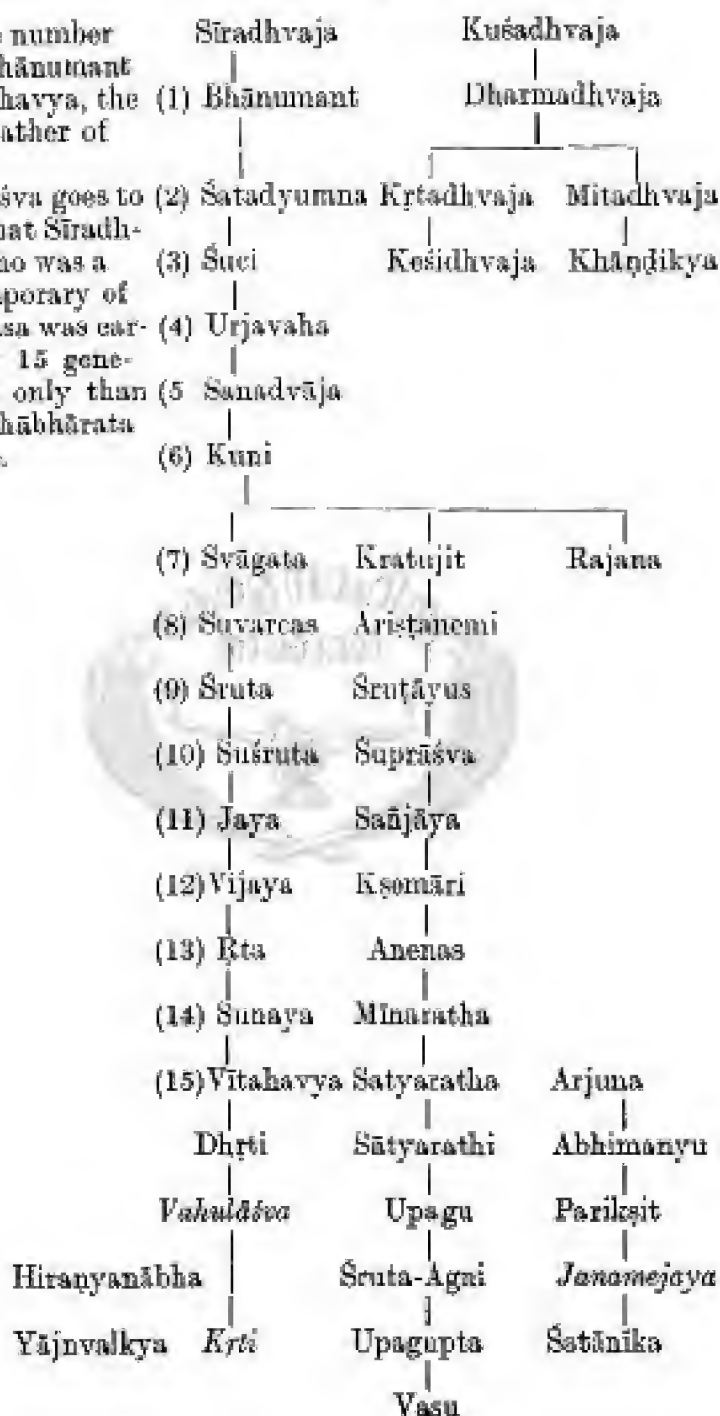
¹ Bh. X, 86, 13-17.

² Gd. MBh. III, 132 ch.

³ The writer of this portion of the Mahābhārata evidently forgets that Vandin was the name of the caste of the court-pandit. The son begotten on a Kṣātriya mother by a Vaiśya father is a Vandin (vide Kumb. MBh. XII 83, 12) while a Sūta is the son of a Brāhmaṇa mother by a Kṣātriya father (vide Kumb. MBh. XIII, 83, 12; Manu X, 11).

The number from Bhānumant to Vitahavya, the grand-father of

Vahulāśva goes to show that Śīradhvaja who was a contemporary of Divōdāsa was earlier by 15 generations only than the Mahābhārata episode.



CHAPTER XII.

THE SOUTHERN KŌSALA LINE.

WE shall now take up to describe a branch Ikṣvāku dynasty which, during the R̥gvedic period, ruled Southern Kōsala situated just to the south of the Vindhya. Sindhu dvīpa's son Ayutāyus was, according to all the Purāṇas, the father of R̥tuparna; but in the Gauda recension of the Mahābhārata we find the patronymic "Bhaṅgāsuri" applied to R̥tuparna. In the Kumbakonam recension we have the form "Bhāgasvari." Bhaṅgāsura or Bhagasvara then was the name of the father of R̥tuparna. It is easy to infer that the Purāṇas have finished some branch Ikṣvāku line with Ayutāyus, and have tacked on the Southern Kōsala or the Saphāla to that line. The Mahābhārata forms Bhaṅgāsura and Bhagasvara of the personal name of the father of R̥tuparna seem to be corrupt. In the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra¹, his name is Bhaṅgāśvina. In the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra² R̥tuparna and Kayōvadhi are spoken of as Bhaṅgyaśvinau. R̥tuparna was the friend of Nala, the father-in-law of the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Muḍgala Bhārmyaśva. The important question as to where the capital of R̥tuparna was, is admirably answered by the Mahābhārata. R̥tuparna was the king, not of Ayōdhyā in the Āryāvarta, but of Southern Kōsala or Saphāla in the Deccan. His friend Nala, the king of Niṣadha³, being ousted by his brother Puṣkara, waited three nights outside the town with his wife Damayanti⁴ and showed her the different roads to

¹ कृतुसेनाभिदोषिण यज्ञेय तेन वैश्वतुर्वर्षी भान्नादिन ईक्षे यथावाता राजा । Baudh. Śrau. XVIII, 13

² यदा भान्नादिनी यदा कृतुपर्षी यदोवधी । Āpast. Śrau XXI, 20, 3.

³ The reading in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II, 3, 2, 1, 2) is Naiṣidha. The St. Petersburg Dictionary suggests that the original form was Naiṣidha (Vedic Index Vol I, p. 461.) But the reading Naiṣidha clearly suggests amendment to Niṣadha.

⁴ Gd. MBh. III, 61, 10.

the Dakṣiṇāpatha beyond Avantī and the Rkṣvant mountain. The great mountain Vindhya stood just in front of his kingdom and the river Payōṣnī flowed by his capital. The king pointed out to his wife the roads to the kingdoms of Vidarbha and Kōśala, and beyond these principalities at the foot of the Vindhya mountain, lay the Deccan proper.¹ Nala related all this to his wife with the intention of leaving her alone in the forest without anybody to protect the helpless queen.

After being separated from her husband, Damayantī wandered through a big forest.² She crossed many streamlets and mounds, and at last saw a man named Śuci³ who was the leader of caravan of the king Subāhu⁴ of Cedi. After Damayantī reached the capital of Cedi, and got shelter in the royal family, it gradually transpired in their conversations that the Cedi queen Sunandā and Damayantī's mother were sisters, and that they were daughters of Sudāman, the king of Daśārṇa.⁵

The king of Niṣadha, leaving his wife in the forest to take care of herself, travelled through the forest and came across the Nāga king Karkōṭaka in the latter's principality. The king of the Nāgas, a non-Aryan tribe, advised Nala to go to the adjacent kingdom of Kōśala where Rṭuparna was then reigning. Nala reached Rṭuparna's town on the tenth day after his banishment.⁶ Thus it follows that Niṣadha, Vidarbha, Kōśala, Cedi, Daśārṇa were contiguous states at

¹ एते राज्ञिनि इन्द्रः, यन्मानी दक्षिणापथम् ।

यन्मानीवसुधन्वा' च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥ २१ ॥

एव हिमो यद्वायव्यः पथोऽसौ च समुद्रगा ।

दाक्षिणापथं यद्वायवीयं इत्युक्तं यथाविज्ञातम् ॥ २२ ॥

एवम् यन्मानी हिमोऽसौ दक्षिणं दक्षिणापथम् ।

यत्तु, एव' च ईशोऽसौ दक्षिणं दक्षिणापथम्, ॥ २२ ॥ Gd. MBh. III, 61, 21-23.

² Gd. MBh. III, 63, 18.

³ Gd. MBh. III, 64, 127

⁴ Gd. MBh. III, 64, 132.

⁵ Gd. MBh. III, 69, 14.

⁶ Gd. MBh. III, 67, 1.

this time, situated at the foot of the Vindhya and that the river Payōṇī flowed past the capital of Nisadha. We further find that Sahadeva Pāṇḍava during his conquest of the South, defeated Bhismaka, the king of Vidarbha, and then the ruler of the adjacent kingdom of Kōśāla.

Now we perceive that this kingdom of Kōśāla was the Southern Kōśāla.¹ We also find that Nala, as the charioteer of R̥tuparna, drove from the capital of Kōśāla to the capital of Vidarbha in approximately 11 hours with four choicest horses². Thus it will be seen that Kōśāla and Vidarbha were neighbouring states and as such, this Kōśāla of R̥tuparna³ was at the South of the Vindhya. R̥tuparna or an ancestor of his migrated to the South, and established a settlement in Kōśāla as the word "Niveśana," indicates. In the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra⁴ R̥tuparna is spoken of as the king of Śaphāla. From this we infer that Śaphāla was the Southern Kōśāla. We are not now in a position to state when this settlement was made but this much is certain that it existed before the time of the famous R̥gvedic king Divō-dāsa because his grandfather Mudgala was the son-in-law of R̥tuparna's friend Nala. The Purāṇas differ regarding the succession after R̥tuparna. The difference amongst the Purāṇas is best illustrated by the following table :

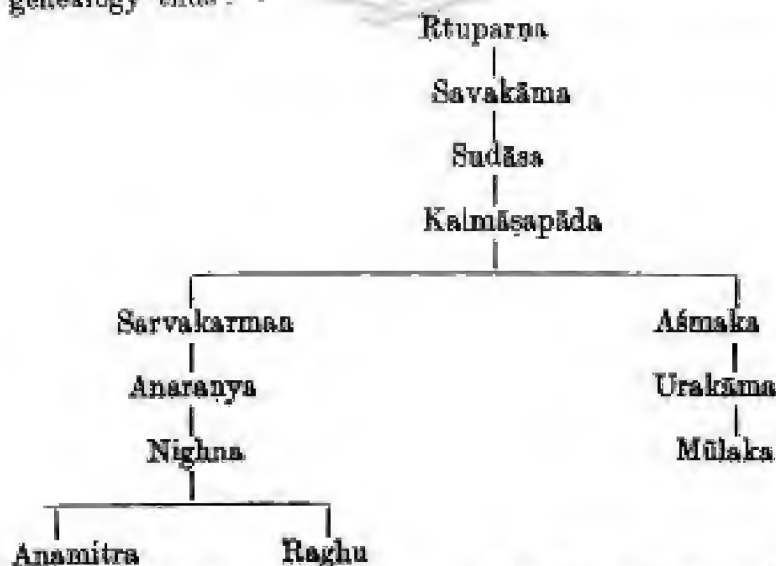
¹ Gd. MBh. II, 31, 12.

² Gd. MBh. III, 71, 10 ; 19 ; 73, 1.

³ Gd. MBh. III, 67, 1.

⁴ Baudh. Śrau. XVIII, 13.

In the above table it will be seen that Urakāma mentioned in the Vāyu between Aśmaka and Mūlaka has been omitted in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, while the corrupt Brahmāṇḍa reading tend to make Mūlaka the son (=Urasa) of Aśmaka. The Brahmāṇḍa represents here the intermediate stage in the process of leaving Urakāma out of account. Vālika of the Bhāgavata is the corrupt form of the correct name Mūlaka. The Harivaṃśa has forgotten Sarvakāma, the son of its Rṭuparna, but has tried to fill up the gap with the patronymic Ārtaparai. The Matsya has evidently omitted Sarvakāma and his son Sudāsa between Rṭuparna and Kalmāṣapāda. The Mahābhārata¹ says that Vasistha begat Aśmaka on Madayantī, the wife of Kalmāṣapāda, and this is followed up by the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa, the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata. But the Mahābhārata also says that Saudāsa's son was Sarvakarman, so named, because Parāśara 1, the son of Śakti, like a servant did all his work.² This is followed up by the Harivaṃśa, the Matsya and the others. Accordingly we hold that Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa had two sons Sarvakarman and Aśmaka and adjust the genealogy thus:—

¹ Gd. MBh. I, 177 Ch.² Gd. MBh. XII, 49, 77-78.

This adjustment satisfies all the Purāṇas and admirably explains the very important information of the Mahābhārata that Kalmāṣapāda's son Āśmaka founded a town named Paudanya¹

Now mark here that the Prakrit form of Paudanya is Pōdanna. This Pōdanna has, in time, been softened into Pōtaṇna and then into Pōtana. Compare here how 'Cedi' has been softened into 'Ceti' in the Pali Buddhist Cannon particularly in the Cetiya Jātaka. We know that Pōtana was the capital of the Assakas.(=Āśmakas) already settled on the bank of the Gōdāvarī during the Buddhist Period.² It is almost certain then that Sarvakarman, the first son of Kalmāṣapāda, having inherited his father's kingdom of Southern Kōśala, the second son Āśmaka migrated and was settled on the bank of the Gōdāvarī, just a bit south of the Southern Kōśala kingdom and had his capital named Paudanya (=Pōdanna=Pōtaṇna=Pōtana).

Now there was a small colony of the Āśmakas to the North-west of Avantī³ and Varāhamihira speaks of the Āśmaka district lying to the north-west.⁴ This Āśmaka of Varāhamihira is probably the same as Ptolemy's Auxomis (Mc Crindles' Ptolemy). Saint Martin identifies Auxomis with the modern Sumi. These informations indicate that the Āśmakas in later times migrated towards the north-west from the original Āśmaka country situated on the bank of the Gōdāvarī.

This migration towards the north-west seems to be an exception to the view generally held that the Aryan migration always took place towards the South. But as there are other evidences of this kind of northward migration we cannot but usefully cite them here.

We know that Jyāmagha, the son of Rukmakavaca Yādava, was settled first in the city of Mr̥tikāvati situate

¹ Gd. MBh. I, 177, 47.

² Rhys Davids Buddhist India p. 27.

³ Rhys Davids Buddhist India p. 27.

⁴ Br. Samhitā XIV, 22.

on the bank of the Nerbuda. Then conquering the regions of the Rksavant mountain, he lived in the town of Suktimati.¹ Saivya (i. e. the wife of Jyāmagha) in her advanced years, gave birth to a son named Vidarbha.² This famous king Vidarbha was the founder of the kingdom of Vidarbha, situated on the South of the Vindhya.³ Now we have already seen that Bhīma Sātvata and Andhaka, the son of Bhīma Sātvata, who were the descendants of Vidarbha, the son of Jyāmagha, were in possession of Mathurā in latter times by ousting Subāha, the son of Śatrughna. It comes to this then that a scion of the royal family of Vidarbha in the Deccan occupied and ruled Mathurā in the Āryāvarta. The lineal descendants of Andhaka down to Kamsa Augrasenya ruled in Mathurā and it is well-known that Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas were compelled to migrate South-west to Dvārakā owing to the repeated invasion of Mathurā by the mighty Magadha King Jarāsandha. There is yet a third instance of this movement towards the north. We know that Vidarbha's son Kaiśika—Kausika—Kusa (I suspect that this variously named king was the same as the king Kāśu of the Rgveda.) was the father of Cedi, the founder of Cedideśa (=Cedi's country).⁴ We also know that this Cedideśa is the region comprising the modern Bundelkhand and Bāgelkhand, situated just on the north of the Vindhya. It comes to this then that the grandson of the founder of the kingdom of Vidarbha which was situated on the south of the Vindhya, was the founder of the kingdom of Cedi situated on the north of the Vindhya—a third instance of a movement towards

¹ Hv. I, 36, 14-15.

² Hv. I, 36, 19.

³ विन्दवः इक्ष्वाकुं पार्श्वं विन्दवः श्री नन्दवत् । Hv. II, 60, 10.

⁴ Hv. I, 36, 22 ; Vs. IV, 12 Ch.

Places are being named after men to the present day ; Mymensingh (founded by Moumensih), Bhairava (founded by Bhairava people still remember that the former name Bhairavabāzār was due to the founder Bhairava) Paresuātha, Candranatha are the other examples.

the north. Again we know that Magadha was occupied by Brhadratha, the son of the Cedi king Uparicara Vasa who belonged to the Paurava family (Paurava-Nandana, MBh). Hence this fact supplies us with the fourth instance of northward movement of the Aryans.

Accordingly we have evidences to hold that the Aryan migration did not necessarily take place always towards the south. There were movements in various directions, and it is not at all surprising that the Āśmakas should, for some reason or other, be pressed to migrate towards the northwest where they have been noticed by Varāhamihira in later times.

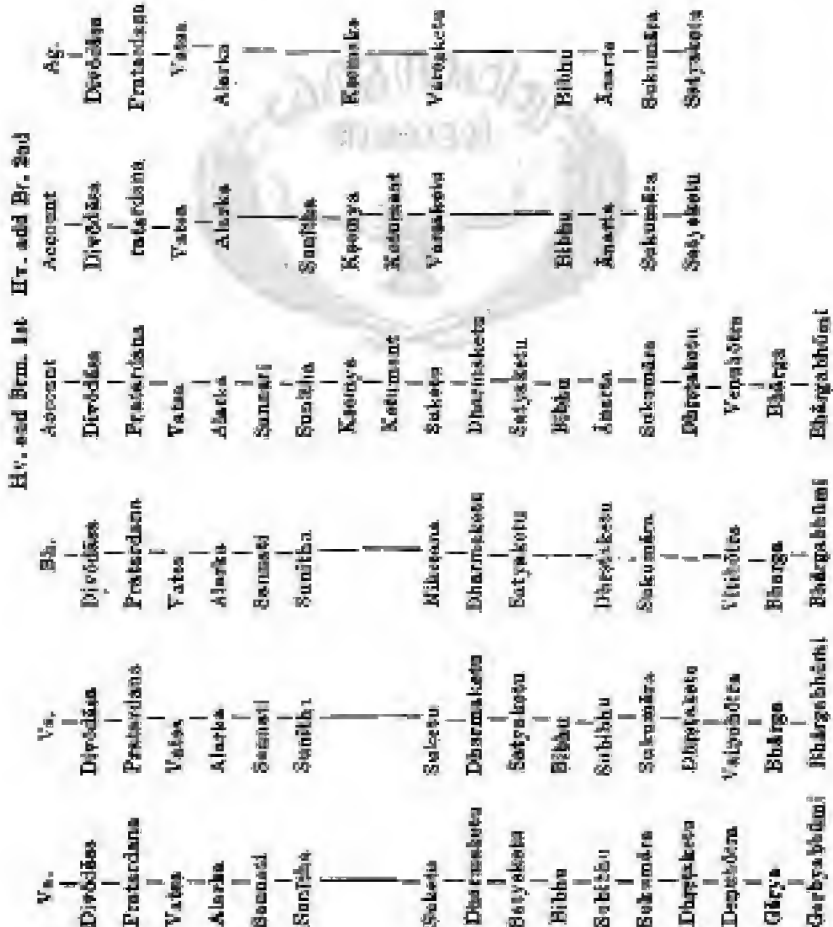
Āśmaka's son Urakāma was, according to the Vāyu, the father of Mūlaka. We know that Mūlaka was the name of the capital of the Assakas in later times. It is clear that the capital was named after the name of the famous king Mūlaka of the Rgvedic Period.

From Kalmāṣapāda sprang another line of descendants as evidenced by the Matsya, the Śiva, the Harivaṃśa and the Mahābhārata. They were Sarvakarman, Anaranya and Nighna successively. Nighna was the father of Anamitra and Raghu. The elder Anamitra, according to the Matsya, went to the forest, and Raghu became the king. But according to the Harivaṃśa and the Śiva, Anamitra and his son Duliduha were rulers. Duliduha (=Mupḍidruha of the Śiva) according to the Harivaṃśa, was succeeded by Dilipa. But the Matsya says that Raghu, the brother of Anamitra was succeeded by Dilipa. The exigencies of the genealogical table shows that this southern Kōśala line has been interwoven in the Northern Kōśala line and the confusion has been due to the names Dilipa and Raghu occurring in the Southern Kōśala line.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KĀSĪ DYNASTY.

The line that sprang from Divōdāsa by his wife Dṛṣad-
vatī ruled the kingdom of Kāśī and the kings of that line are
mentioned in the Purāṇas which usually differ from each
other as to their names and order of succession in a few
cases. The account of the dynasty as described in the
Vāyu, the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata, the Harivaṃśa, the Brahma
and the Agni is shown in the following scheme :—



a Maithila king¹ (the Purāṇic title of Bhānumant the son of Śiradhvaja is Maithila although a Maithila generally means an inhabitant or a king of Mithilā)² and thus he was believed to have attained Indra's world by fighting and strength.³ Pratardana was not only a very brave soldier but also a curious student of rituals.⁴ During his reign, Rāma Jāmadagnya exterminated the Kṣatriyas a second time and his young son Vatsa Prātardāni somehow or other, escaped his terrible vengeance.⁵ His grandson Alarka who was the king of Kāśi and Karuṣa,⁶ was blessed by Agastya's wife Lōpāmudrā,⁷ the daughter of the king of Vidarbha.⁸ Young Agastya approached Vradhnaśva (= Vadhryaśva—Divōdāsa's father) Trasadasyu Paurukutsa, the Aikṣvāka king, and the king Śrutarvan for money.⁹ This king Śrutarvan is clearly the same Śrutarvan who is mentioned in the R̥gveda by his priest Gōpavana Ātreya as the son of Rkṣa and as a great sacrificer.¹⁰ Śrutarvan subjugated a Dāsa chief named Mṛgaya.¹¹ Rāma Dāśarathi met Agastya in Daṇḍaka and Agastya saw Rāma in Lankā.¹² Hence Rāma Dāśarathi was, to a certain extent, a contemporary of Alarka. Vatsabhūmi and Bhargabhūmi were the lands of the descendants of Vatsa and Bharga, the sons of Pratardana, and almost all the Purāṇas have been confused in expressing this sentiment. The number of descendants from Divōdāsa to Sukumāra indicates that Divōdāsa was earlier by thirteen generations than the events of the Mahābhārata.

¹ Kumb. MBh. XII, 99 ch.

² Kauṣit. Up. III, 1.

³ Saṃkh. Br. XXVI, 5.

⁴ Kumb. MBh. XII, 48, 86

⁵ Gd. MBh. III, 25, 13.

⁶ Va. 92, 67.

⁷ Gd. MBh. III, 96 ch.

⁸ Gd. MBh. III, 98 ch

⁹ Rv. VIII, 74, 4 ; I ; 14 ; 15.

¹⁰ Rv. X, 49, 5.

¹¹ V. Ram. III, 12 ch. cf. also Bṛh. V, 106 ch.

CHAPTER XIV.

We propose to add yet another Brāhmanic evidence in support of our thesis. In the Vamśa Brāhmana of the Sāmaveda we find a series of teachers the earlier ones of whom are well-known to us and belong to the Vedic period while the latter were post-vedic. The adjoining list is collected from the Vamśa Brāhmana.

Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa

R̥śyaśṛṅga Kāśyapa (1) Mitrābhu Kāśyapa

(2) Indrābhu Kāśyapa

(3) Agnibhu Kāśyapa

(4) Śavas

(5) Devataras Śavasāyana

(6) Pratīthi Devataratha

(7) Nikōthaka Bhāyājātya

(8) Vṛśasusma Vātāvata

(9) Indrōta Saunaka

Some of these teachers are known to us. A detailed account of Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa is supplied by the Mahābhārata. There we find that Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa who had his hermitage on the bank of the river Kauśikī (=the modern Kuśī in the district of Purnea) had his son named R̥śyaśṛṅga by a Mṛgī^a (evidently a non-Aryan maid). Lōmapāda-Daśa-ratha of the dynasty of Anga Vāleya employed R̥śyaśṛṅga Vibhāṇḍaki to officiate in a sacrifice instituted by him (i. e. Lōmapāda) to remove draught. The same incident is evidenced by the Rāmāyana.^b Lōmapāda gave his daugh-

^a Kumb. MBh. III, 111 ch.

^b N. Ram. I., 9 & 10 chh.

ter Śāntā in marriage to Rāyaśrīga.¹ It was by virtue of Rāyaśrīga's officiating in a Putreṣṭi sacrifice that Lōmapāda got his son Caturāṅga.² Rāyaśrīga also officiated in the Putreṣṭi sacrifice instituted by Daśaratha Ājeya of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and as a result, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna were born.³ Accordingly, Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa and his son Rāyaśrīga Kāśyapa are thoroughly known to us. The Vamśa Brāhmaṇa is just wrong in placing Rāyaśrīga Kāśyapa above Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa. The eighth in the order of disciples downwards from Vibhāṇḍaka is Vṛṣaśusma Vātāvata. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁴ we find that Vṛṣaśusma Vātāvata Jātukarṇya (i. e. the son of Vātāvata and grandson of Jātukarṇya) gave sacrificial instructions to the Agnihōtrins. It is easy to recognise that the same Vṛṣaśusma Vātāvata is mentioned in both the Aitareya and the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa. The Puraṇas call him simply Jātukarṇya and state that he was an older contemporary Vedavyāsa.⁵ The disciple of Vṛṣaśusma (=strong like a bull) Vātāvata (=the son of Vātāvata) Jātukarṇya was, according to the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa, Indrōta Śaunaka (vide the table). This Indrōta Śaunaka is also thoroughly known to us. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁶ we find that Indrōta Daivāpa Śaunaka performed sacrifices for Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. We also find that Janamejaya Pārikṣita performed this sacrifice in Āsan-divant.⁷ We further find that the R̥sis performed a Jyōtis Atirātra for Bhīmasena, a Gō Atirātha for Ugrasena and an Āyus Atiratra for Śrutasena.⁸ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa further informs us that Bhīmasena, Ugrasena, and Śrutasena were the brothers of Janamejaya and the sons of Parikṣit.⁹

¹ Kumb. MBh. III, 114, 11.

² Va. 99, 164; Mt. 48, 95-96; Hv. I, 31, 47; &c.

³ N. Ram. I, 11—18 chh.

⁴ Ait. Bra. V, 29.

⁵ Va. III, 3, 17-19.

⁶ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 1.

⁷ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 2.

⁸ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 3.

⁹ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 3.

(Note particularly the Gāthā and the commentary of Hari-
svāmin.) In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we come across a
certain Janamejaya Pāriksita who was crowned with the
Aindra Mahābhiṣeka ceremony by a R̥ṣi named Tura Kā-
vaseya.¹ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa preserves the same
gāthā about this Janamejaya Pāriksita as does the Śata-
patha Brāhmaṇa and says that 'in Āsandivant Jana-
mejaya Pāriksita bound for the gods a black-spotted grain-
eating horse adorned with a golden ornament and yellow
garlands.' As the same gāthā is preserved in both the
Brāhmaṇas and as Janamejaya Pāriksita is mentioned in both
of them, it will be admitted that these two Brāhmaṇas
mean the same Janamejaya Pāriksita. Now turning to the
Mahābhārata we find that Janamejaya Pāriksita, (i. e. the
grandson of Abhimanyu Ārjuni) had his brothers named
Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena and that these four
Pāriksitas (i. e. the sons of Pāriksit) instituted a long sacri-
fice in Kurukṣetra.² It is decided that Indrōta Daivapa
Śaunaka, the disciple of Jātukarṇya, performed sacrifices
for Janamejaya Pāriksita, the grandson of Abhimanyu,
and that the same Janamejaya Pāriksita was crowned
with the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka ceremony by Turu Kāvaseya.
This fact is further confirmed by the evidence of the
Bhāgavata Purāṇa³ where we find that Janamejaya
Pāriksita, the grandson of Abhimanyu Ārjuni, employed
Tura Kālaseya as his priest. Kālaseya here is an evident
corruption for Kāvaseya. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa also
informs us that Janamejaya Pāriksita had Śrutasena,
Ugrasena and Bhīmasena as his brothers.⁴ Now Indrōta
Daivapa Śaunaka has also been mentioned simply as Indrōta
Śaunaka in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.⁵ After all this, we
conclude that Indrōta Daivapa Śaunaka or Indrōta Śaunaka,

¹ Ait. Br. XIII, 21.

² Kurub. MBh. I, 3, 1.

³ Bh. IX, 22, 37.

⁴ Bh. IX, 22, 35.

⁵ Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 3, 5.

the disciple of Vṛṣasūṣma Vātāvata Jātukarnya, performed sacrifices for Janamejaya Pāriksita, and that the same Janamejaya Pāriksita was crowned with the Aindra Mahābhīṣeka ceremony by Tura Kāvaṣeya. Accordingly Tura Kāvaṣeya was, to a certain extent, a contemporary of Indrōta Śaunaka. Now in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we find that

Vibhāṇḍaka

1. Mitrābhu

2. Indrābhu

3. Agnibhu

4. Śavas

5. Devataras Śāvasāyana

6. Pratithi Devataratha

7. Nikōthaka Bhāyajātya

8. Vṛṣasūṣma Vātāvata Jātukarnya

9. Indrōta Śaunaka, Tura Kāvaṣeya

Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana

Kuśri.

Tura Kāvaṣeya's disciple was Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana and the latter's pupil was Kuśri.¹ Elsewhere² in the Śatapathā Brāhmaṇa we find that Kuśri who was the son of Vājaśravas had Upaveśi as his disciple; Upaveśi's son and disciple was Āruṇa; Āruṇa's son and disciple was the famous Uddālaka Āruṇi; Uddālaka Āruṇi's disciple was the famous Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyana. Thus we have the following table:—

Vedavyāsa	(9) Tura Kāvaṣeya
Pāṇḍu	(10) Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana
Arjuna	(11) Kuśri Vājaśravasa
Abhimanyu	(22) Upaveśi
Parikṣit	(13) Āruṇa
Janamejaya	(14) Uddālaka Āruṇi
Satānīka 1	(15) Yājñavalkya.

¹ Sat. Br. X, 6, 5, 9.

² Sat. Br. XIV, 3, 2, 32.

Yājñavalkya Vajasaneya, the disciple of Uddālaka Āruṇi thus naturally belongs to the 15th step below Vibhāṇḍaka in order of discipleship. The table indicates that Tura Kāvaseya lived to a great age. But there is no reason to be surprised at this, as we have numerous evidences to show that Rsis in those times had very long lives. Thus Vedavyāsa attended Janamejaya's court. Again Indrōta Śaunka's pupil was his son Dr̥ti Aindrōta Śaunka,¹ and Dr̥ti's disciple was Pulusa Prācinayōgya². Pulusa's pupil was his son Satyayajña Pauluṣi.³ Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Prācināsāla the son of Upamanyu, and Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi &c. approached Uddālaka Āruṇi for knowledge of Ātman,⁴ and Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi, learnt from and therefore was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha⁵ who, as we have already seen, was no other than Kṛti Janaka, the class friend of Yājñavalkya. The relation is best illustrated by the following table :

(9) Indrōta Śaunka									
(10) Dr̥ti Aindrōta Śaunka						Āruṇa		Parikṣit	
(11) Pulusa Prācinayōgya	Hiranyakāśha	Upamanyu	Āsvatarāśvi	Uddālaka	Veda			Janamejaya,	
(12) Satyayajña Pauluṣi	Kṛti Janaka,	Prācināsāla	Buḍila	Yājñavalkya					

Thus the line of teachers from Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa through Indrōta to Satyayajña Pauluṣi, the contemporary of Kṛti Janaka and Yājñavalkya indicates that Indrōta Śaunka became the pupil of Vṛśasusṃa Vātāvata Jātukarṇya when the latter was very old, and that Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa was earlier than Pulusa Prācinayōgya by a series of 11 teachers. But the combined evidences of the Vamśa, the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa prove that the age of Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa or Daśaratha or Divōdāsa was removed from the age of Kuśri Vājaśravasa by approximately about 11 generations or discipleships.

¹ Vam. Brs. 2; Jaim. Up. B a III 1, 2.

² Jaim. Up. Brs. III, 40, 2.

³ Jaim. Up. Brs. III, 41, 2.

⁴ Chan. '1. Up. XI, 1.

⁵ Brh. Ar. Up. V, 14, 8

CHAPTER XV.

DISTINGUISHED ṚṢIS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD.

The first and the most famous Vedic poet of this period was Bharadvāja Vājīneya. He was a contemporary of Divōdāsa, Prastōka Sārījaya and Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and consequently of Daśaratha. His sons were Garga and Pāyu. Rāma Dāśarathi repaired to his hermitage on his way back from Lankā.¹ He was the Purōhita of Divōdāsa², gave Prāṭardana Daivōdāsi his kingdom³ and Kṣattreārī Prāṭardani was his Yajamāna⁴. He was one of the Ṛṣis of the Vedic age, who prohibited the slaughter of cows in sacrifices⁵ simply out of gratitude to the bovine race which showers on mankind, kindness in the form of milk.⁶ Bharadvāja loved the cows so very deeply that he did not hesitate to identify them with Indra, his deity.⁷

Then comes Rkṣa, the son of Valmīka Bhārgava. He was the author of the original Rāmāyaṇa. An absurd legend has probably developed round his patronymic 'Valmīki.' It was in his hermitage that Kuśa and Lava, the sons of Rāma Dāśarathi, were brought up. These two disciples of his, first sang the poetry of Rāmāyaṇa composed by him at the court of their father. The heroes of a drama are still called Kuśi-Lavas in Sanskrit. The present Rāmāyaṇa has evolved out of the practice of singing the original Rāmāyaṇa which was undoubtedly in Vedic dialect and in Anuṣṭubh metre. Hence the present Rāmāyaṇa is the Sanskritic redaction (with later contributions added) of the original Vedic Rāmāyaṇa which contained verses of the type: "मा निवाद प्रतिज्ञां स्वमगमः माञ्जतौः वसतः ।

¹ Va. 46, 114.

² Panc. Br. XV, 3, 7; Kumb. MBh. XIII, 8, 26.

³ Kat. Sm. XXI, 10; Gd. MBh. XIII, 30-Ch.

⁴ Rv. VI, 26, 8.

⁵ Rv. VI, 28, 1.

⁶ Rv. VI, 28, 4.

⁷ Rv. VI, 28, 5.

यत् कौशमिषुनादेवमवधौः काममोहितम् ।” Its style need not be suspected as belonging to a later age because it is composed in Anustubh. Dirghatamas Mā-mateya who crowned Bharata Daugmanti and who thus belonged to the same period composed ‘दीर्घतमाः सामवेदो जुजुर्वेद इयमे युगे ।’ The Hindus who had the extraordinary memory to carry the Vedas in their brain for thousands of years to deliver up to modern scholars, cannot be expected to have forgotten the very simple fact that Rkṣa Bhārgava composed the first verse that was an effusion of pity. Tradition has it that Rkṣa Vālmiki also tried to compile the Vedas existing at his time after the Rṣi Tṛṇavindu, and after him (i. e. Vālmiki) Śakti, the son of Vasistha, tried to compile the Vedas.²

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (7) Ambhṛṇa | The third mentionable Rṣi |
| | |
| (8) Vāk | of the period is Vāk, the |
| (9) Kaśyapa Naidhruvi | famous daughter of Am- |
| (10) Śilpa Kaśyapa | bhṛṇa. ³ She belongs to the |
| (11) Harita Kaśyapa | eighth step on the genea- |
| (12) Asita Vārsagana | logical table and was the |
| (13) Jihvāvant Vādhyōga | author of the famous Devī |
| (14) Vājaśravasa | Sūkta, namely the 125th |
| | |
| (15) Kuśri Vājaśravasa | hymn of Maṇḍala X of the |
| (16) Upaveśa | Rgveda. In her compo- |
| | |
| (17) Aruṇa | sition we come across the |

Doctrine of Logos imported into Europe by the Essenes of Palestine or the Therapeutæ of Egypt.⁴ The fourth in the series of disciples from Vāk was Asita⁵ who had by Ekaparnā his famous son Devala⁶; hence Asita belongs to the twelfth and Devala to the thirteenth step on the genealogical table. Devala thus was the contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira. Devala's younger brother Dhaumya, was the priest of Yudhiṣṭhira.⁷

² Rv. I, 158, 6.

³ Vā. III, 3, 17; 18.

⁴ यन्मन्त्रं यद्वर्षेद्विता वाङ्मात्री नञ्चिद्विषी स्वाकावसदीन् Rv. Suk. Kr. X, 125.

⁵ R. S. Trivedi, Vicitra Prasanga.

⁶ Bhṛadāraṇyaka IV, 2, 5, 3.

⁷ Vā. 72, 17.

⁸ Gd. MBā. I, 183, 2.

Asita's brother-in-law was Jaigīṣavya who married Ekapātālā, the sister of Ekaparṇā.¹ Jaigīṣavya who was the son of Śataśilāka, got, by Ekapātālā, two sons named Śaṅkha and Likhita* who became reputed law-givers. The second in the line of disciples from Asita was Vājaśravas. The third in the line of disciples from Vājaśravas was Aruṇa, the father of the famous Pāṇcālya Uddālaka, and the latter's pupil was Yājñavalkya (=the son of Yājñavalka-Brahmarāta).

	(17) Aruṇa	Patañcala Kāpya
Kuṣītaka	(18) Uddālaka	
Kahōḍa, Svetaketu	(19) Yājñavalkya	Vājasaneyā
	Asuri	
	Asurāyana	
	Prāśni-putra	Asurivāsin
	Kārṣakeyi-putra.	
	Sāñjivī-putra.	

Then we pass on to speak about a seer who was the father of the idea of the Eternal Universal Self pervading the Universe and yet remaining emanent in it. He is the famous Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Puruṣa Sūkta, namely, the 90th hymn of Maṇḍala X of the R̥gveda. He used to live in his famous hermitage at Badarī which is still visited by pilgrims as one of the most sacred places of India.² The name Nārāyaṇa indicates that he was the son of a seer named Nara. Nara and his son Nārāyaṇa lived austere lives at Badrikāśrama and their fame as pious Ṛṣis spread far and wide. A wicked king named Dambhōdbhava who was always anxious to fight could not brook the idea that the austere sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa could be his rivals.³ Accordingly the king proceeded to harm the austere Ṛṣis at their hermitage⁴ but was humbled down by Nara.⁵ In

¹ Va. 72, 18.

² Va. 72, 19.

³ Gd. MBh. III, 90, 25.

⁴ Gd. MBh. V, 96, 14.

⁵ Gd. MBh. V, 96, 23.

⁶ Gd. MBh. V, 96, 30; Gd. MBh. V, 96, 31.

his old age Nārāyaṇa who was of the saintliest character, propounded his highest philosophy of One *Birāt* Puruṣa pervading the Universe; and piety's self he was worshipped even by the devout heads of his age. The unique message of Universal Brahman proclaimed by Nārāyaṇa attracted the devout Nārada who actually repaired to Badarī to visit the sage.¹ The *Mahābhārata* makes the Rsi Nārāyaṇa speak as follows; "That Universal Puruṣa is destitute of the three qualifications;² that Brahman is supposed to possess all attributes and yet is really without attribute and can be realised only through knowledge and we two (Nara and Nārāyaṇa) also have been created out of that Eternal Ātman. Knowing Him thus we two worship that Eternal Self.³ Followers of the Vedas, Āśramas, and various other tenets of religion worship Him with devotion, and He bestows on them the proper courses earned by their actions.⁴ But those solely devoted to the One, who surrender themselves up to that Eternal Self with all their heart, with all their soul, with all their understanding, verily enter that Universal Brahman."⁵ Hearing all this, Nārada became anxious to see the original nature of the God Nārāyaṇa and the sage Nārāyaṇa bade good bye to him. Nārada then went to a country named the White Country which lay to the north-west from the hill Gandhamādana and just to the north of the Milk Sea.⁶ He saw men of that blessed land as white as the full moon⁷ and sang prayers in honour of the Universe-Self of attributes yet really devoid of all attributes.⁸ The Universe-God became pleased with Nārada and appeared before him in his real form. Nārada saw that the Universe-God was possessed of thousand eyes thousand heads thousand bellies, thousand arms⁹ &c. Compare this with

¹ Gd. MBh. XII, 334, 14.

² Gd. MBh. XII, 334, 41; 42.

³ Gd. MBh. XII, 334, 44.

⁷ Gd. MBh. XII, 338, 1.

² Gd. MBh. XII, 334, 30.

⁴ Gd. MBh. XII, 334, 43.

⁵ Gd. MBh. XII, 335, 3.

⁶ Gd. MBh. XII, 338, 3.

⁹ Gd. MBh. XII, 339, 6; 7.

the idea contained in the first Rk of the *Puruṣa Sūkta*¹ composed by the Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa.

Nārada conversed with the *Puruṣa* and came back to *Badarikāśrama* again,² and listened to the sage Nārāyaṇa who gave him the spirit of ideas afterwards developed in all the *Upaniṣats*, the *Vedas*, the *Sāṃkhyayōga* and the *Pāñcarātra* religions.³ It really means the Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa communicated to Nārada, his unique philosophy of Universe-God contained in his composition *Puruṣa Sūkta*; and this idea of *Puruṣa Sūkta* was communicated by Nārada to *Vedavyāsa* in *Naimiṣāranya*⁴ and *Vyāsa* spoke about this to *Yudhiṣṭhira*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa* and *Bhīṣma* listening.⁵ The same tradition is embodied in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* where we find that Nārada who was very fond of travels throughout India went once to visit the Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa who lived a long life of austerity softened with piety, knowledge and self-control, for the highest good of the people of India.⁶ Nārada listened to his highest philosophy and bowed to the primitive Ṛṣi in deep reverence and after coming back to *Naimiṣāranya*, related to *Dvāpāyana Vyāsa* all that was uttered from the mouth of Nārāyaṇa.⁷ This record of the *Bhāgavata* and *Mahābhārata* is extremely important, as it will supply us with the approximate time of composition of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*. In later times, the son of *Nara* has been raised to the status of a God exactly in the same way as *Śrī Rāmachandra*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, *Valadeva*, *Subhadra*, and *Gautama Buddha*, and has begun to receive regular worship in public temples and is represented by a small piece of stone.

The Hindus of modern times have completely forgotten that these pieces of stones representing Nārāyaṇa were

¹ *Rv.* X, 90, 1.

² *Gd. MBh.* XII, 339, 110.

³ *Gd. MBh.* XII, 339, 111; 112.

⁴ *Gd. MBh.* XII, 346, 16; 17.

⁵ *Gd. MBh.* XII, 348, 64; 65 cf. also *Gd. MBh.* XII, 348, 85; 86.

⁶ *Bh.* X, 87, 5; 6.

⁷ *Bh.* X, 87, 47-48.

originally collected from his hermitage at Badarī the very soil of which became sacred in the eyes of all Hindus of early times, and that the deity Nārāyaṇa whom they now worship was, after all, an austere philosopher belonging to an ancient age. In later times some of the philosophers have identified the Rṣi with water from the analogy that water is a universal purifier like the product of Nārāyaṇa's thinking i. e. the Puruṣa-Sūkta; but they did not altogether forget that he was the son of Nara, as is evident from the quarter-verse, "जायो वे नारसुतवः". Impartial scholars, unprejudiced by sectarian bias, will determine whether or not, the idea of 'the son of man' which is an exact equivalent of 'Nārāyaṇa' travelled to the west through the Essenes or the Therapeutæ; in the meantime, it has become an article of strong conviction with us that the idea of the Universe-God contained in the Puruṣa-Sūkta composed by Nārāyaṇa is responsible for the origin of the idea of the Avalokiteśvara of the Buddhists, as well as of the Viśvarūpa described in the 11th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā. It is perfectly natural that in a country like India where the belief in an afterbirth originated in the Vedic age, the holy Rṣis Nara and Nārāyaṇa should be believed to be reborn as Arjuna and Śrīkṛṣṇa.¹

Nārāyaṇa belongs to the ninth step on the genealogical table, as Nārada, went to Badarī and became his disciple.

Then we pass on to note just one important point in the compositions of Vasiṣṭha about whom we have already learnt much. We find that he prays to Śambhu, the presiding deity over fields.² Thus offering prayers to Śambhu as the presiding deity over fields, began in the later Vedic Age.

Kṛṣṇa Draipāyana Vedavyāsa was born to Parīśara II by Satyawatī Dāśeyī. He was the putative father of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra and hence his position on the genealogical

¹ Gd. MBh. III, 12, 46.

² Rv. VII, 35, 10.

table is fixed. We try here to indicate the time about which Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana compiled the Vedas.

It will be found in the Mahābhārata (Kumb. MBh. XIII, 53, 21-22) that a Brāhmaṇa named Mandapāla, had, by a Śūdra woman named Śārṅgī, four sons who were Bratma-vādins (=the authors of Vedic hymns) and that they prayed to Agni, the carrier of 'havya'. Their names were Drōṇa, Stambamitra, Śārisṅka and Jaritāri. The Mahābhārata is here admirably corroborated by the R̥gveda. There we find that the 142nd hymn of Maṇḍala X of the R̥gveda was actually composed by the Śārṅgas who were Jaritṛ, Drōṇa, Śārisṅka and Stambamitra (Sarvānukramaṇī to Rv. X, 142). Sadguruśiṣya, while commenting on this says that they were Śārṅgas by birth (सर्गजः). We know that this is one of the many totem names of the several non-Aryan tribes. There were also other people namely the Matsyas, the Ajas, the Markatas, the Śarpas, the Nāgas, the Mṛgas, &c. There is no doubt that they were the old ethnic names suggesting totemism. Mandapāla, however, married a Śārṅgī woman and got four sons who were the authors of Vedic hymns, as is evidenced by the R̥gveda and the Mahābhārata.

When did these four compose that particular hymn? The exquisite Mahābhārata answers that as well. Elsewhere in that work we find (Kumb. MBh. I, 254, 47) that when Arjuna Pāṇḍava burnt down the Khāṇḍava forest these four Śārṅgas namely Jaritāri, Śārisṅka, Stambamitra and Drōṇa escaped from being burnt (Kumb. MBh. I, 255-257 chh). The Khāṇḍava forest is mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (V, I, 1) the Pañcavimpśa Brāhmaṇa (XXV, 3, 6) and the Śaṭyāyanaka cited by Śāyana on the R̥gveda IV, 101. It was the southern boundary of Kuru-kṣetra according to the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. The Mahābhārata describes in detail (in Chapter 258th of book I) how these four Śārṅgas prayed to Agni Vaiśvānara in order

that that Vedic God might be pleased to spare them that time; how Mandapāla, their father, became very anxious for his sons; how leaving his second wife Lapitā, he came to his first wife Sarigī and her sons Jaritāri, Drōṇa, Stam-bamitra and Sārisṅka; how the sons blamed their father for leaving them at their distress (Ch. 159); how they left that place for elsewhere to live (Ch. 260).

This is a most momentous event which will have an important bearing upon the chronology of Vedic literature, as it shows that Vyāsa Pārāśarya compiled and grouped the Vedas after the Khāṇḍava forest was burnt down by Arjuna Pāṇḍava, for the hymns composed by the Śārṅgas on this occasion, have been incorporated by Veda-vyāsa in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rgveda. Accordingly it may be admitted that the Rgvedic Age extends right up to some of the events of the Mahābhārata. Remembering in this connection that Santanu (=Bhīṣak) and Devāpi were the authors of the Rgvedic hymns it may be safely concluded that we have reached almost the terminus *ad quem* of Rgvedic literature in which all Vedic scholars are profoundly interested.

CHAPTER XV.

CHRONOLOGY.

We shall now deduce the chronology of the later Vedic Period from genealogical considerations. We have seen that the later Vedic Period i. e. the period between the time of Divōdāsa and the Mahābhārata episode was one of 12 generations of the Satvant dynasty, but one or two kings of this dynasty had to perform sacrifices in order to become fathers in their advanced years. The Anga dynasty from Rōmapāda downwards gives us 13 generations covering the same period. The Māgadha dynasty gives us 13 steps, as Vasu and Jarāsandha were born at an advanced age of their fathers. Similarly, the Northern Pāncāla dynasty gives us 12, while the Kāśī dynasty and the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa tend to give us 13, although the Ikṣvāku and the Janaka dynasties would give us the number 15. Thus from the combined evidence of more than a dozen dynasties we infer that the later Vedic Period covered twelve to fifteen generations. The small discrepancies are natural. As we have already said, the eldest children born in some cases were daughters. Allowances must also be made for the first few children having been daughters in a particular case. In some cases, the eldest brothers died for their youngers to succeed. Besides different dynasties might naturally have characteristic adolescence, puberty and longevity. In others, a particular king might become a father in his advanced years, and so on. The reasons for the small divergence are very various. We are inclined to think that 13 would most approximately express the number of generations covering the same period. We have determined the date of the Mahābhārata war to be circa. 1150 B. C. From this date as our fixed point we shall calculate the approximate dates of even earlier events of the later Vedic Period. We have got to determine

the most reasonable number of years that should be assigned to each member of a series of successive lineal descendants of a reigning dynasty, and then calculate from genealogical considerations.

The question is : by how many years is the father generally removed from his eldest son who according to the Indo-Aryan Law is the successor to the throne of his father ? We have got to remember that in some cases the eldest children born were daughters, and in a few others the eldest sons died for their youngers to succeed. Let us take a few typical cases ; (i) Babur was at the forty-eighth year of his age in 1530 when he died.¹ Aurangzeb his descendant in the fifth degree was 40 years of age when he assumed the full honours of the imperial dignity under the title of Alamgir in 1659.² Hence the period from Babur at 25 to Aurangzeb at 25 was one of $1644 - 1507 = 137$ years ; and this period is occupied by 5 steps. Accordingly each step occupies in average period of $\frac{137}{5} = 27.4$ years.

(2) Now we take an English line of kings.

Henry III, the son of John Lackland of the House of Anjou was only nine years old in 1216.³ His son Edward I was at 33 when he became the king in 1272⁴. His son Edward II was 23 years old when he became the king in 1307⁵. The next king Edward III, the son and successor of Edward II, was at 14 in 1327⁶. The Black Prince, the son of Edward III was 16 years old in 1346 when he fought at Crecy.⁷ Richard II, the son of the Black Prince was at 10 in 1377 when he succeeded to the throne of his grand-father.⁸ Hence from

¹ The Oxford Students' History of India by V. A. Smith. Page 154 Revised 8th edition.

² Smith's Oxford Student' History Page 207 Revised edition

³ Tout's Advanced History of Great Britain Page 159.

⁴ Tout's Advanced History of Great Britain Page 178

⁵ Tout's Advanced History of Great Britain Page 198.

⁶ Tout's Advanced History of Great Britain Page 205.

⁷ Tout's Advanced History of Great Britain Page 214.

⁸ Tout's Advanced History of Great Britain Page 228.

Henry III at 10 to Richard II at 10 we have a period of $1377-1217=160$ years and the number of steps between them is only 5. Hence the average period of each step is $\frac{160}{5}=32$ years.

(3) Thirdly, take the Hanoverian dynasty:

George I (more than 50 years in 1714¹ A. D.)

George II

Frederick the Prince of Wales

George III

George IV

William IV.

Victoria

Edward VII

George V

Prince of Wales (at 27 in 1921, being born on the 23rd
ne. 1899).

Hence from George I at 27 to the present Prince of Wales at 27 we have a period of 231 years (=1921-1690) for 8 steps. The average = 28.875.

(4) Take the case of the Gupta kings. Chandragupta I became king on the 26th February 320 A. C. Narasingha Gupta Baladitya, the descendant of Chandragupta I in the fifth degree, acceded to the throne in 469 A. C. Hence for five steps we have a period of 149 years; each step thus covers an average of $\frac{149}{5}=29.8$ years.

(5) Then turn to the First Lohara dynasty of Kasmira. Samgrāmarāja ascended to the throne of Śrinagara in 1003 A. C. His son and successor Ananta became king at 1028 A. C. Kalasa, the son of Ananta, began his reign from 1063 A. C. Harsa, the son of Kalasa became king at 1089 A. C.

¹ *Tout's Advanced History*, p. 536.

Thus from the accession of Saṃgrāmarāja to the accession of Harṣa, we have a period of $1189-1003=86$ years, and this period was occupied by 3 steps each step thus covers $\frac{86}{3}=28\cdot6$ years.

(6) Then let us take the old English kings of the house of Cedric.

Egbert 802 A. C.—839 A. C.

Ethelwolf 839—858 A. C.

Alfred 871—899 A. C.

Edward the Elder 899—914 A. C.

Edmund 940—946 A. C.

Edgar 959—975 A. C.

Ethelred the Unready 978—1016 A. C.

Edmund Ironside 1016 A. C.

Edward

St. Margaret

Matilda 1100—1135 A. C.

Thus from the accession of Egbert to the accession of Matilda we have a period of $1100-802=298$ years and this period is covered by 10 steps each step thus covering a period of $29\cdot8$ years.

(7) Then we take the genealogy of the French kings of the direct Capetian line.

Hugh Capet	987—1000 A. C.
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1. Robert	996—1031 ..
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2. Henry	1031—1060 ..
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3. Philip I	1060—1108 ..
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4. Louis VI	1108—1137 ..
-------------	----	----	--------------

5. Louis VII	1137—1180 ..
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6 Philip II Augustus	1180—1222 ..
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7. Louis VIII	1222—1226 ..
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8. Lois IX	1226—1270 ..
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9. Philip III	1270—1285 ..
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10. Philip IV	1285—1314 ..
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From the accession of Hugh Capet to the accession of

Philip IV we have a period of 1285—987=298 years for 10 steps. Each step thus covers an average period of 29.8 years.

(8) In the *Kṣitīśa-Vamśāvali-Carita*¹ we find that Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa commenced his career in Bengal from 1077 A. D. Viśvanātha, the 12th in descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana, began his life in 1399 A. D. The genealogical tree is given below :

1. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana....1077 A. D.
2. Nipu
3. Halāyudha
4. Harihara
5. Kandarpa
6. Viśvambhara
7. Narahari
8. Nārāyana
9. Priyamkara
10. Dharmāṅga
11. Tācāpati
12. Kāmadeva
13. Viśvanātha 1399 A. D.

Thus for 12 steps we have 322 years yielding an average of $\frac{322}{12}=26.83$ years.

(9) In the same book² we find that from the commencement of the career of Viśvanātha (1399 A. D.) to the beginning of Rāma Samaddāra's life (1597 A. D.), 198 years elapsed and this period is covered by 7 steps, as indicated below :

¹ *Kṣit. Vams. P. 70.*

² *Kṣit. Vams. P. 71.*

1. Viśvanātha....1399 A. D.
- |
2. Rāmachandra
- |
3. Subuddhi
- |
4. Kapsāri
- |
5. Trilōchana
- |
6. Saṣṭhidāsa
- |
7. Kāśinātha
- |
8. Rāma Samāddāra—1597 A. D.

This gives us an average period of $\frac{198}{7}=28.3$ years.

(10) Again, Kṛṣṇachandra was installed as the king of Nadia in 1728 A. D.¹ Saṭisāchandra, his descendant in the fifth degree became the king in 1858 A. D. We have thus a period of 130 years for the five steps given below :

1. Kṛṣṇachandra....1728 A. D.
2. Sivachandra
3. Iśvarachandra
4. Girīśchandra
5. Śrīśacandra
6. Saṭisāchandra....1858 A. D.

This gives us an average of $\frac{130}{5}=26$ years.

Now let us take the mean of all the averages we have obtained from the ten dynasties we have considered.

1st	..	27.4	
2nd	..	29.8	
3rd.	..	28.6	
4th		32	
5th	..	28.875	
6th	..	29.8	
7th	..	29.8	
8th	..	26.83	
9th	..	28.28	
10th	..	26	
Total		.. 287.385.	Mean $\frac{287.385}{10}=28.738$ years.

¹ Kāit. Vama. P. 214.

Rejecting the decimal protion, we take 28 years to be the most reasonable period that should be allowed per step or generation. We are now in a position to determine the approximate dates of important events of the later Vedic Period.

Divōdāsa was earlier by 13 average generations than the Maābhārata episode. Calculating backwards we get the date 1514 B. C. ($= 1150 + 13 \times 28$) for the battle of Udabraja in which Śamvara and Varci were killed by Divōdāsa with his ally Daśaratha Aikṣvāka. We should not be far wrong if we date this battle at about 1500 B. C. Hence according to this estimate the later Vedic Period becomes roughly one of 350 years.

Sudās belongs to a step below Divōdāsa. Hence the battle of ten kings may be dated at about 1470 B. C.

Rāma who was born in his father's advanced years, was 42 years of age when he killed Rāvana Vaiśravaṇa at Laṅkā. Hence the battle of Laṅkā may be dated about 1450 B. C. Thus the battle of Laṅkā took place roughly about 300 years before the battle of Kurukṣetra.

The emperor Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Prastōka. Śārījaya fought the Vāraśikhas about 1500 B. C.

Nārāyaṇa composed his famous Puruṣa Sukta when he was quite mature in intellect and published it thorough Nārada who communicated it to Vedavyāsa in Naimiṣāranya where Vyāsa was engaged in teaching. Vyāsa again communicated it to Yudhiṣṭhira, Śrīkrṣṇa and Bhīṣma listening. Consequently the Puruṣa Sūkta may be dated at about 1150 B. C.

The composition of Jaritṛ, Droṇa, Stambamitra and and Śarīṣkta may be dated about 1170 B. C. i. e. about the time of the burning of the forest of Khāṇḍava.

Bṛhadratha I really belongs to the 3rd step below Kṛta. Hence the origin of the Bārhadhratha dynasty may be dated approximately about 1425 B. C.

Vāk, the daughter of Ambhṛṇa belongs to the 7th setp

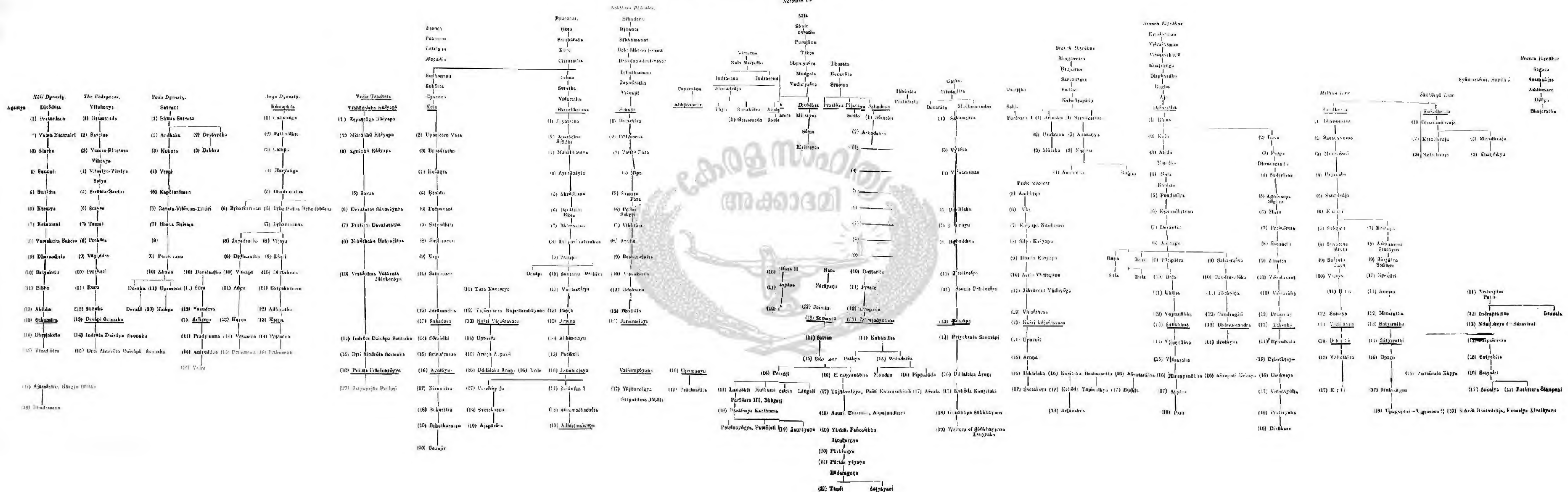
in the line of preceptors above Kuśri who approximately belonged to the time of the Mahābhārata. Hence this gives us the date $(7 \times 28 + 1151 =)$ 1347 W. C. We date her composition i. e. the Devī Sūkta at about 1350 B. C.

Mudgala belongs to the second step above Divōdāsa. Hence Mudgala with his wife Indrasenā Nālāyani fought the Dasyus in about 1550 B. C. Accordingly the composition of Mudgala (Rv. X, 162) may be dated about 1550 B. C.

Naiṣadha Nala was banished by his brother Puṣkara in about 1575 B. C.



Genealogies of Vedic Kings and Series of Vedic Teachers.



CHAPTER XVII.

CHRONOLOGY DEVELOPED IN 'RIGVEDIC INDIA' UNTENABLE.

We shall here examine the chronological system of Dr. Abinashchandra Das. The learned author quotes the second Rk of the 96th hymn of Maṇḍala VII of the R̥gveda in order to prove its hoary antiquity and renders it into

"Of the rivers, the Sarasvatī alone knows (this), the sacred stream that flows from the mountains into the sea."

Now there is nothing to find fault with this rendering except the use of the present tense in the verb 'to know.' It should have been in the past tense and the correct rendering should have been

"Of the rivers, the Sarasvatī alone knew (this) &c."

For it should be noticed in this connection that the author of this hymn is Vasistha who was the priest of Sudāsa Paijavana. The R̥si has already related the feats of his Yajamāna Sudās in the preceeding hymns. Vasistha is here alluding to a fact which was long past before his time namely that the great king Yayāti Nāhuṣa performed sacrifices on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and that the river Sarasvatī at that time listened to and therefore came to know Nāhuṣa's (= Yayāti's) supplications. Sāyana is perfectly right when he paraphrases 'acetat' by 'prārthanāmajñāsīt.' Thus it is clear that Dr. Das has been mistaken about the tense employed in the Rk. To say that by the past tense employed (in 'acetat') the present is meant would not do, because Vasistha again uses another past tense alluding to an event long past before his time namely that the Sarasvatī milked ghee and milk for Nāhuṣa (= Yayāti) and Sāyana is perfectly right when he paraphrases 'dudube' by 'dugdhavati', 'dattavati'. The place where Yayāti Nāhuṣa

performed sacrifices was known as the Yāyāta Tīrtha and Valadeva in his travels throughout the Uttarāpatha visited that Tīrtha (Kumb. MBh. IX, 42, 33).

Now because in this Rk the Sarasvatī is spoken of as going to the sea, Dr. Das posits the existence of a great sea extending from the Punjab to the confines of Assam at the time of the composition of this Rk. But this interpretation of his is very far-fetched. A look at the map of India will convince any unprejudiced observer that the modern Sur-sati (=the ancient Sarasvatī) after taking a westerly course from Thanoswar (=Sthānviśvara=the ancient Kuruksetra) joins the Mārkandā river near Pehoa, and Mr. Nundo Lal Dey in his Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India informs us that the united stream still bears the name Sarasvatī. Running in a south-westerly direction with the small towns Mandwi, Fatahabad and Sirsa situated on its banks, the Sarasvatī is lost into the dry bed of the Ghaggar (=the ancient Dṛśadvatī) at Bhatnair near Dabhli Tibi. The dry bed of the Ghaggar (=the ancient Dṛśadvatī) from Dabhli Tibi to Kandra still exists and the distance from Kandra to the small lake near Kasabjal which Indus has formed while passing, is just about 25 miles. Although there is much accumulation of sand here, the dry bed can still be traced to the Indus. The truth really is that the Sarasvatī, being joined with the Dṛśadvatī, reached the lake-formation near Kasabjal, and thus reached the sea after union with the Indus like the Vipasā and the Śutudrī both of which although they join the Indus, have been spoken of as going towards the sea (Rv. III, 33, 1-3). In fact, everywhere in India's ancient literature, rivers in general have been spoken of as going to the sea (compare: Yathā Nadīnaṃ Vahavōmbuvegāḥ Samudramevābhimukhā dravanti Kumb. MBh. VI, 35, 28) Samudragā is a synonym of Nadī or river (see Hemachandra) Śāgaramāminī is a name of all rivers (Bharata, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa). Even

the smaller rivers which do not directly fall into the sea are spoken of as reaching the sea after union with bigger ones¹ (cf. *Māgha*, *Sisūpalabaddha*, II, 100; 104;). Consider also the case of *Yamunā* which although joins the *Ganges* near *Allahabad* is spoken of as going to the sea (*Kumb MBh.* III, 88, 3). Particularly notice in this connection the statement of *Gṛtsamada* (*Rv.* II, 35, 3) as interpreted by Dr. Macdonell. *Gṛtsamada* says that all the rivers reach the sea and please the god *Apān Napāt*. In fact, all the rivers are represented in Sanskrit literature as going to the sea. This is evidently the general idea meant by the Vedic poet *Vasiṣṭha*. It should also be kept in mind in this connection that whenever a Vedic poet begins to glorify a particular deity, he ascribes to that deity all greatness, all power, all benevolence, and what not. For this plain sentiment expressed by the Vedic poet, it is neither rational nor necessary to carry the composition of the *Rk* 'a million and a half' or even 'hundreds of thousands' of years back, and to posit the existence of a sea from the Punjab to the confines of Assam.

Dr. Das's second reason for the geological antiquity of the *Rgvedic* Period that during that period the provinces of *Pañcāla*, *Kōśala*, *Maghadha*, *Anga*, *Videha* &c. were not in existence have been fully discussed in Chapter XIX under the heading "Aryan Settlement of India during the *Rgvedic* Period," and it has been proved that in addition to these provinces in Northern India, even a portion of Southern India too was occupied by the Aryans during that period.

The third argument adduced by him for carrying the *Rgvedic* times to millions of years back seems to be founded on no reason. He says that because the God *Kēśin* or *Agni* is mentioned as living in the eastern and western seas there-

¹ The view of Mr. Hara Prasad Shastri M. A. that in Vedic times, the *Sarasvati* independently reached the sea at *Sōmasāñṭha* in *Guzrat* is clearly absurd on the very face of it.

fore the R̥gvedic Aryans did not know of the existence of any land to the east of their country. The writer of the Mānava Dharma Shāstra speaks of the eastern and the western seas. Does it follow from this that the Rajputana sea of the geologists existed at the time of writing the Mānava Dharma Shāstra? Even in modern times one may speak of the eastern and the western seas and say that Vāḍavānala exists in the eastern and western seas. Does it follow that just to the east and the west of the place in which the speaker lives, two vast seas exist? Even Kālidāsa speaks of the eastern and the western seas in a similar expressive manner (Pūrvāparau Tōyanidhī Vagāhya &c—Kumar. I, 1). By the eastern and the western seas are clearly meant the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea respectively and Hopkins is perfectly right in this identification. Dr. Das has fallen into a serious error by supposing that the R̥gvedic Aryans were confined in the Punjab which he erroneously identifies with the Sapta-Sindhu.

Lastly Dr. Das thinks that the climates and seasons that prevailed in Sapta-Sindhu as mentioned in the R̥gveda and the Avesta would support him in carrying the R̥gvedic Period to geological ages. But we find that the R̥ks (VII, 66, 15), (VI, 48, 8), (II, 1, 11) quoted by Dr. Das. as supporting him in this matter would just go against him. The use of the words Sharad, and Hima respectively in the above R̥ks to designate the year, does not prove the predominance of the seasons during a greater part of the year in particular areas of the small tract called Sapta-Sindhu as Dr. Das has supposed. When Saṃyu the son of Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa, says (R̥v. VI, 48, 8) that he was igniting the fire for hundred Himas, Saṃyu really confesses that he was engaged in composing the above R̥k during the Hima season. When Gr̥tsamada says (R̥v. II, 1, 11) that the fire ignited before him was verily that 114 of hundred Himas he really confesses that he was engaged in composing that particular hymn

during the Hima. When Vasiṣṭha is describing (Rv. VII, 86, 16) the splendid rise of the sun and hopes to enjoy that beautiful sight for the next hundred autumns, Vasiṣṭha is really confessing that he was composing that particular hymn during an autumn. For it is well known that the Indian sky after the rains are over i. e. during the autumn becomes clear and it is a favourite topic of the poets to describe the splendid autumn sun-rise in the most glowing terms. It was on account of the frequent indentification of the rainy season with the year in later times in the way suggested in the above Rks that the year is generally designated as Varṣa now a days.

Dr. Das citing the Avestic evidence of the climate of Sapta-Sindhu says (Rigvedic India, p. 13) "The Avesta says that the Sapta-Sindhu possessed a delightfully cold climate in *ancient times* which was changed into a hot climate by Angra Mainyu." To understand the truth about this the original word of which the translation is "*in ancient times*" requires to be seen. It is quite possible that the primitive Aryan thinker during a terribly hot summer recalls in his mind delightful cold of just the previous winter and thinks (in his crude way of thinking) that the unbearable heat was caused by the evil spirit Angra Mainyu. Or it may as well be that the primitive Aryan in his childhood did not feel so much heat and praises his land saying "It was delightfully cold before, but now it has been changed into a hot one by Angra Mainyu". In fact, the true mentality of the speaker of this portion of the Avesta requires to be fully known. It is useless to expect to determine the chronology of Vedic India from vague passages like these.

Dr. Das next quotes Mr. Medlicott to prove that low temperature prevailed in Indian area in ancient epochs; but may not one ask what connection has this low temperature of ancient geological epochs got to do with the Aryans of India? The evidences of Blanford, of the Encyclopædia

Britanica, for the prevalence of a cold climate in low latitudes are granted, but these evidences have not been proved to bear any bit of relation to India of the Vedic Age.

Dr. Das says (*Rigvedic India*, p. 14) again that there is evidence in the *Rgveda* of heavy showers of rain falling in *Sapta-Sindhu* during the rainy season which lasted for three or four months &c. but we see that there is not an iota of evidence in the whole of the *Rgveda* to show that heavy continued rains prevailed in *Sapta-Sindhu*, while it may be observed that these phenomena may have been true of the sacred spot named *Vṛtraghna* situated on the bank of the Ganges the valley of which has been proved to have been occupied by the Indo-Aryans during the *Rgvedic* period in Chapter XIX under the heading "Aryan Settlement of India."

In Chapter II of his *Rigvedic India* Dr. Das goes on quoting from Sir Sidney Burrard, R. D. Oldham, Medlicott, Blanford, Ragozin, Coggin Brown, &c. in order to put down the antiquity of man in India to be a million of years, but unfortunately he adduces no evidence, absolutely none, to prove that these Pliocene or Miocene men were the Aryans of India. Dr. Das next goes on quoting from the *Encyclopædia Britanica* to show that at early geological epochs such and such were the distributions of land and sea in Asia, but we find he establishes no relation between these early geological distributions with India of the Vedic Age. Dr. Das next quotes from Lassen an extract which says "It appears very probable that at the dawn of history, East Turkistan was inhabited by an Aryan population, the ancestors of the present Slavonic and Teutonic races &c." Here Dr. Das seems to have been confused about the term "the dawn of history" spoken of by Lassen and the geological epochs of the geologists. Dr. Das says that recent geological times saw the early dawn of history, but as to how could it see, he has given us no proof. Thus throughout the second chapter Dr. Das talks of matters quite irrelevant to his point. It

may be pointed out that Dr. Das at the very begining, took his start with the preconceived notion that the Rgvedic Aryans were confined in the Punjab (1st Chapter p. 8), while at the end of the second chapter (Rigvedic India, p. 30) he confuses these Rgvedic Aryans with the ancient Aryans of Lassen.

The third chapter of his Rigvedic India is devoted to proving the vast antiquity of the Aryans of Sapta-Sindhu. In doing this Dr. Das has reasoned that because the region between the Sarasvatī and the Sindhu was called the 'God-fashioned region', that because the two rivers Bipās and Śutudrī have been made to say that they are advancing towards the God-fashioned region, that because Manu speaks of the region between the Sarasvatī and the Dr̥śadvatī as the God-fashioned country, that because in the Rgveda II, 41, 16, the Sarasvatī has been described as the best of mothers, the best of rivers and the best of Goddesses, and that because in the Rgveda II, 41, 17, the Sarasvatī has been described as the support of all, therefore the geological fact of the Punjab having been the most ancient life-producing region in India would certainly accord with it. Thus Dr. Das unfortunately makes a confusion between the production of life in India and the sacredness of the Sarasvatī Tirtha where some of the Rgvedic poets used to assemble and perform sacrifices. We have*proved in the next section that the Gangetic valley was occupied by the Aryans during the Rgvedic period, and that the famous king Bharata Daśmanti who belonged to the mediaval Rgvedic period performed no less than 55 horse sacrifices at a sacred spot named Vrtraghna on the bank of the Ganges. Can any one hold on grounds like this that this sacredness of the Ganges was due to its producing life in the most ancient epochs of the geologists, or can any one guarantee that this life produced there, means the life of the Indo-Aryans and not the life of birds and beasts ?

Dr. Das. next continues saying that because the gerat deluge is not mentioned in the Rgveda, therefore the flood did not happen during the Rgvedic period. This is *argumentum ex silentio*. The flood is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 8, 1, 6) the Mahābhārata (Kumb. MBh. III, 190 Ch) and the Purāṇas (Mt. I, 10-33 &c.) as having happened at the time of Manu Vaisvata. Dr. Das does not seem to have recognised that the Purāṇic genealogies were originally meant for the various dynasties of kings who parcelled out and ruled India of the Rgvedic period, that the Rgvedic Period extends right up to the time of the events of the Mahābhārata, that the Brāhmaṇas give us at times the accounts of kings and Rsis of the Rgvedic Period. It will be excessively daring to discredit these evidences particularly in the face of the fact that Mahābhārata (Kumb. MBh. III, 190, 49) identifies the place where the boat was bound and even remembers its name as Nauvandhana, and that the old accounts of other nations preserve the reminiscences of the flood.¹

Dr. Das thinks that in the Rgveda II, 12, 2, seismic disturbances have been referred to, but this is going too far. As we have already said whenever a particular deity is glorified, the Vedic poet ascribes to that deity all greatness, all power, all benevolence and what not. It is henotheism pure and simple. To find in passages like these, a reference to the seismic disturbances of geological epochs is straining one's imagination too much. Accordingly his conclusion that the Rgvedic Aryans lived in Septa- Sindhu in Pliocene times rests on purely fanciful grounds.

Dr. Das devotes the 4th chapter of his Rigvedic India in proving the geological antiquity of the Rgveda. He

¹ The flood is not mentioned in the Atharvaveda (XIX, 39, 8). Weber (notes to Die Fluthsage, Ind. Streifen I, 11) and others (cf. Griffith's note). The accepted reading वासुधैव कुटुम्बकम् has been separated in the Paṭapāṭha into 'न' and 'वासुधैव' and Sāyana explains it with the remark न इह लोके तस्यैवाहं कुटुम्बकमस्मिन्मम वासि ।

begins by referring to the Orion of Tilak, but does not try to prove the untenability of the rival system, built up by the great Marhatta thinker. Dr. Das argues that because Professor Bloomfield has observed that the '*real beginnings of Aryan life* reach back several thousands of years more than the language and literature of the Vedas,' therefore that observation suggests the hoary antiquity of Aryan civilisation. Dr. Das thereby means to say that this carrying the Rgvedic times to millions of years back is also suggested by Bloomfield. Dr. Das thus makes a confusion between the time of the *real beginnings of Aryan life* and the *Rgvedic Period of the Indo-Aryans*; it is also unfortunate that he takes 'several thousands' in the sense of 'millions'.

After this Dr. Das quotes the Rgveda III, 39, 2 in support of his theory. The author of this hymn is Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra says "Oh Indra, the prayer which, being pronounced in sacrifices before the rise of the sun (or better, before day-break, 'दिवः पूर्व') awakes you, is come to us in white clothes from our fathers and is old." It is evident that Viśvāmitra is here alluding to the fact that his father Gāthīn or his grandfather Kuśika or his great grand-father Iṣiratha were in the habit of praying to Indra. It does not mean that Viśvāmitra is repeating the compositions of his father or of his grand-father. It is for this reason that Viśvāmitra speaks of the prayer, apparelled in white, i. e., clothed in new language. It means that Viśvāmitra was the independent author of many hymns of the Rgveda and did not borrow the language of anybody else. He only alludes to the fact that the custom of praying to Indra is old, and that his fathers were in the habit of offering prayers in early dawn to the Vedic God Indra. The Rgveda confirms this by preserving the compositions of Gāthīn and Kuśika. Accordingly Dr. Das has fallen into a serious error by thinking that this would support him in carrying the Rgvedic times to a lac of years back.

After this Dr. Das again repeats his confusion between 'the real beginning of Aryan life' and the time of composition of *Rgvedic hymns* and cites the authority of Professor Hopkins. Dr. Das should have noted that by the term "*Aryan life*" Hopkins means the life of Aryans consisting of the Germanic, the Slavonic, the Keltic, the Greek, the Latin, the Iranian, the Indo-Aryan all taken together before their separation. Even admitting for the sake of argument that Hopkins means by the term 'Aryan' the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan section only, it is clear that he means to keep a distance of several thousands of years' time between the beginning of that early Indo-Aryan life and the commencement of the time of composition of the *Rgvedic hymns*. But Dr. Das without understanding this attitude of Hopkins has tried to find in the *Rgvedic hymns* references to the very beginning of Aryan life.

Proceeding to enumerate other evidences of the antiquity of the *Rgveda* and the *Sapta-Sindhu*, Dr. Das mentions the *Rk* (IV, 26, 2). It is to be particularly observed here how Dr. Das has been confused as to the real facts stated in the *Rk*.¹ The poet Vāmadeva posing himself as Indra says "I have given the earth to the Aryan (=Mann)" &c. Dr. Das interprets it as (*Rigvedic India*, p. 48) "Indra is said to have given lands to the Aryans in *Sapta-Sindhu* to live in." Thus one can perceive it at once that Dr. Das inserts '*Sapta-Sindhu*' in order that it may fit in with his preconceived idea of *Sapta-Sindhu* having been the original Aryan home. The original word is 'Bhūmi', and Sāyana is perfectly right when he renders 'Bhūmi' by 'Pṛthvi'. None has any right to insert '*Sapta-Sindhu*' here.

Dr. Das says next (p. 52) "The antiquity of the river *Sarasvatī* is proved by the fact that it was in her region that the first born *Vṛtra* was seen by the early Aryan Rishis

¹ अहं भूमिदत्तामसि ।

to be killed by Indra which fact earned for her the name of *Vṛtraghnī* etc." Now this interpretation of Dr. Das is far-fetched. The *Sarasvatī* was called *Vṛtraghnī* not for the fact that the first born *Vṛtra* was killed in her region, but for the fact the *Rṣis* and the kings of the Indo-Aryan race believed that they could kill their enemies by virtue of sacrifices performed on her banks. *Sāyana* is perfectly right when he says while commenting on the *Rgveda* VI, 61, 7, that '*Vṛtras*' means the enemies in general, and no one will admit that all the enemies of the Indo-Aryan race were confined in the region of the *Sarasvatī*. Fights took place and enemies were killed in various parts of the Northern India and because the *Rṣis* believed that they or their *Yajamānas* were successful in killing their enemies by performing sacrifices on the *Sarasvatī*, therefore the river has been applauded as *Vṛtraghnī* i.e., the killer of enemies by *Bharadvāja Vājineya*. Remember in this connection that *Abhyāvartin Cāyamana* and *Prastōka Sārījaya* defeated the *Vāsaikhas* after performing their sacrifices by *Pāyū Bhāradvāja*. Secondly, no one can comprehend how the sacredness of a particular place can be brought forward as an argument for its early colonisation. Particular places in Northern India were considered sacred or regarded as *Tirthas* for particular events happening at them. Thus the Vedic seer *Viśvāmitra* who belonged to the dynasty of *Kānyakubja* performed sacrifices at *Utpalāvat* in the *Pañcāla* country. Hence *Utpalāvat* in *Kānyakubja* became considered as sacred. To commemorate this *Rāma Jāmadagnya* a *Rgvedic* poet (*Rv.* X, 110) composed an *Anuvamśa* verse¹. *Naiṣadha Nala*, the father-in-law of the *Rgvedic* poet *Mudgala*, after having been banished from his kingdom by his brother *Puṣkara*—drank water on the hill named *Kuṇḍōda*. In memory of this, that hill became considered as sacred². *Kubera*, the son *Viśravas*, mentioned

¹ *Kumb. MBh.* III, 85, 16-17.

² *Kumb MBh.* III, 86, 23.

in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 4, 3, 10) was born in the hermitage of Viśravaś situated on the Narmadā and for this and other reasons the river Narmadā was considered sacred.¹ This Kubera Vaiśravaśa belonged to the Vedic Age as his brother Ravana Vaiśravaśa was a contemporary of Daśaratha or Atithigva Divōdāśa. The famous Ṛgvedic king Sahadeva Śārṅjaya performed sacrifices at a spot on the bank of the Yamunā, and in memory of this that spot was considered as a Tīrtha and called Agniśīras. In commemoration of this, a famous Gāthā has been composed by Vedic teachers.² The famous Ṛgvedic king Bharata Dausmanti (Rv. VI, 16, 4) performed seventy-eight horse-sacrifices on the Yamunā at the same sacred spot.³ The famous Pāñcāla poet Dālbya (=Keśin) had his hermitage on the Dṛṣadvatī⁴ which was accordingly considered sacred. The famous Ṛgvedic poet Jamadagni had his hermitage at Palāsaka which was at the confluence of the several principal rivers.⁵ Accordingly Palāsaka was considered sacred. Many Vedic seers used to live at Kanakhala across Hardwar near which the river Gaṅgā issues out of mountains.⁶ Accordingly Kanakhala was considered sacred. It was on a hill named Puru situated close to Kanakhala that the famous Ṛgvedic king Aiḍa Pururavaś was born.⁷ This famous king of the Ṛgvedic Age was the ancestor of a section of Indo-Aryans and has been commemorated as a hero in hymn (X, 96) and as a votary of the fire cult in Ṛgveda I, 34, 4. and in many places in Vedic literature.⁸ The Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa, the author of the famous Puruṣa Sūkta, had his hermitage at Badarī, and for this the Badarikāśrama has been considered as a sacred Tīrtha, and many sages used to live there.⁹ The

¹ Kumb. MBh. III, 87, 4-5.

² Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 6-7.

³ Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 11; Ait. Bra. VIII, 23; Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 8.

⁴ Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 11-12.

⁵ Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 15-18.

⁶ Kumb. MBh. III, 88 ch.

⁷ Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 21.

⁸ Sat. Bra. XI, 5, 1, 1; III, 4, 1, 22; Kath. Sam. VIII, 10 & Nir. X, 46; Baudh. Śraut. XVIII, 44-45.

⁹ Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 23-27.

famous king Kuru who belonged to the R̥gvedic Age performed grand sacrifices at a spot on the Sarasvatī. This spot which was called Kurukṣetra after the name of the king, was considered as a Dharmakṣetra or a Tirtha. Dirghatamas used to live in Anga, Vibhāṇḍaka on the banks of the Kauśikī in modern Purnea and Agastya in the Deccan. Thus it will be realised that there were Tirthas in many places in Northern India during the Vedic Period and it is a very pernicious theory that the Sarasvatī was the only Tirtha where all the R̥gvedic poetry was composed. R̥sis used to live in various places in Northern India and Vedic poems were naturally composed by them in all those places. The Sarasvatī was one of the most famous and ancient Tirthas no doubt, having been especially glorified by Vājineya Bṛhadvāja who informs us that many earlier sages had their hermitages on her banks.¹ But the kings and their men used to live in other parts of Northern India. They used to approach the seers and had their sacrifices performed by them. The Sarasvatī thus was a very ancient Tirtha, but it cannot be held that all members of the Indo-Aryan race were confined there during the R̥gvedic period as has been held by Dr. Das. (Vide the chapter on the Aryan Settlement of India during the R̥gvedic period).

The Vedic poets used to get intoxicated during the time of sacrifices by drinking the Sōma juice. This drink gave them energy, exhilaration, joy &c. They have for this reason applauded the Sōma plant as 'Pratnamit' (R̥g. IX, 42, 4) 'Yajñasya Pūrvyam' (R̥v. IX, 2, 10) 'Yajñasya Ātmā' (R̥v. IX, 2, 10) Divaḥ Piyuṣam' (R̥v. IX, 110, 8) &c. Dr. Das quotes all these appellations of Sōma to prove the geological antiquity of the R̥gvedic civilization. Thus it will be realised that on the whole Dr. Das. has arrived at nothing definite about the chronology of the R̥gvedic Period.

¹ R̥v. VI, 61.

In conclusion, we draw the attention of scholars to a book entitled "The Aryavartie Home and the Aryan Cradle in Sapta-Sindhu" written by Mr. N. B. Pavjee and published in 1915. This writer has drawn from the Manual of the Geology of India by Messrs. Medlicott and Blanford to prove the antiquity of man in India, as has been done by Dr. Das, without being able to establish any connection between this primitive man and the Indo-Aryan (Aryavartie Home p. 18).

This writer, long before Dr. Das, has argued (Aryavartie Home p. 20) exactly like Dr. Das (Rigvedic India p. 36) that the tract lying between the Indus and the Sarasvatī has been designated as the God-fashioned region (Yōnir Devakṛtaṃ III, 33, 4). Long before Dr. Das (Rigvedic India, p. 49) he has argued (Aryavartie Home p. 21) that it was in this region of the Sarasvatī and the Indus that the first the oldest and the greatest of serpents was killed (Prathamajāmhinām Rv. I, 32, 3 Ahannanā, Prathamajāmhinām Rv. I, 32, 3; Ahannahī, Rv. IV, 28, 1); that it was here (i. e. in the region of the Sarasvatī and the Indus) that the rising dawn was observed by our primitive ancestors (Aryavartie Home, p. 21); that the sun was seen to rise in that sacred region (Aryavartie Home, p. 21); that the land of seven rivers or lands in Sapta-Sindhu was given to the Aryans by Indra quoting the same famous Ṛk of the seer Vāmadeva (Aryavartie Home, 22); that the Sarasvatī is the best of mothers, the best of rivers, the best of goddesses &c. (Aryavartie Home, 22-24); that the origin of life or vitality in the region of the Sarasvatī is a proof of the antiquity of the Indo-Aryan life (Aryavartie Home, c. 24-29); that because Sōma has been called very old (Pūrvya), extremely ancient (Pratnamit), older than sacrifice (Yajñasya Pūrvya) the very soul of sacrifice (Ātmā Yajñasya) the very nectar of remotest antiquity received from the heavens (Divyaḥ Piyuṣaṃ Pūrvyaṃ) and so on, therefore the very highest

antiquity of Sôma sacrifice, and for the matter of that, the antiquity of the Rgvedic Period is proved (Aryavartia Home, p. 122-162). In fact, all the materials and arguments embodied in the book of Mr. Pavjee have been utilized by Dr. Das. We have criticised Dr. Das's Rgvedic India because it contains the most recent exposition of the theory originally propounded by Mr. Pavjee. We do not therefore attempt a separate refutation of Mr. Pavjee's arguments as they have already been disposed of in dealing with Dr. Das's book.



CHAPTER XVIII.

CHRONOLOGY DEVELOPED IN "THE ORION" UNTENABLE.

We shall in this section discuss just one point raised by the great scholar the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his *Orion*. At the very outset we are bound to remark that "*The Orion*" is a splendid astronomical exposition which can serve to check the extravagant chronological guesses of others. It may have or has its faults, but it shows very simply this that the commencement of the Rgvedic period cannot be carried "hundreds of thousands" and millions of years back, and that neither can it be carried down to 800 B. C. It is not the object of our present enquiry to deal with all the points raised in "*The Orion*" concerning the early Vedic Age. We shall only mention just one point raised in it in connection with the later Vedic Age.

Tilak says (*The Orion*, 2nd edition Chapter III, p. 36) "It is clear, therefore, that in the days of Varāhamihira, there existed works which placed the winter solstice in the beginning of Dhanisthā and the summer solstice in the middle of Ashleshā. This statement of Varāhamihira is fully corroborated by quotations from Garga and Parāśara which we meet with in the works of later commentators; and it appears that the system of commencing the year with the month of Māgha which corresponds with the above position of the solstices was actually in vogue. The account of the death of Bhishma related in the *Mahābhārata Anuśāsanaparva* 167 ch. shows that the old warrior who possessed the super-human power of choosing his time of death, was waiting on his death-bed for the return of the sun towards the north from the winter solstice, and that this auspicious event took place in the first half of the month of Māgha. It is evident from this that the winter solstice must have coincided in those

days with the beginning of Dhanishthā as described in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa and other works."

It is abundantly clear from this quotation that Tilak is at one with us in holding that at the time of the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava, the winter solstice coincided with the beginning of Dhanishthā.

In the preface (p. vi) to the Orion, Tilak further defines his chronological attitude by writing "According to this view the Mahābhārata war must be placed in the Kṛttika period, in as much as we are told that Bhīṣma was waiting for the turning of the sun from the winter solstice in the month of Māgha." The Kṛttikā period according to Tilak "commences with the vernal equinox in the asterism of the Kṛttikas and extends up to the period recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa i. e. from 2500 B. C. to 1400 B. C." (The Orion 2nd edition p. 207). It is clear from this that Tilak thinks that the period recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa is roughly about 1400 B. C.; and we have already seen that this time recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa was, according to Tilak himself, the time about which Bhīṣma died. It follows then that Tilak is of opinion that the Mahābhārata war happened about 1400 B. C.

Tilak holds (Orion, 2nd edition, p. 34) that this astronomical method "based upon old observations" involving "inevitable want of accuracy does not affect" his "conclusions to such an extent as to make them practically useless for chronological purposes." He says "suppose there is a mistake of 5° in observing the position of the sun with reference to a fixed star * *. This would cause an error of not more than $5 \times 72 = 360$ years in our calculations, and in the absence of better means there is no reason to be dissatisfied with such a result especially when we are dealing with the remotest period of antiquity." It is clear from this attitude of Tilak that he has no quarrel with the man who holds the Mahābhārata war to have taken place about 1400

+360=1760 B. C.; neither would he object to anybody's holding for that war the date of about 1400—360=1040 B. C. He has given us the express sanction of 5° or 360 years; and this period due to the inevitable inaccuracy of old observations may be added to or subtracted from the dates arrived at by him in his preliminary attempt to gauge the Vedic period by the rough astronomical method. That the latitude of 360 years is passable to Tilak, is further proved by his saying (Orion 2nd Edition p. 38) "From these data (of the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa) astronomers have calculated that the solstitial colure occupied the position above-mentioned between 1269 B. C. to 1181 B. C., according as we take the mean rate of precession of the equinoxes 50" or 48".6 a year" The sum and substance of Tilak's opinion is that the calculation depends on the rate of precession. It is clear from the above that the time recorded in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa about which, according to Tilak himself, the great warrior Bhīṣma died, may be 1181 B. C. or 1269 B. C. or 1400 B. C. Tilak according to his own admission has no abjection to these dates, as we have already seen that he has given us a range of 360 years round about his date 1400 B. C.

Now no sane scholar would question the truth of the universally alleged incident that it was Kṛṣṇa Dvāipāyana Vedavyāsa who compiled and grouped the Vedas. It is stated in all the Purāṇas¹ unanimously, in many places in them, in a hundred places in the Mahābhārata² and every student of history has admitted that it is a historical fact.³ This great sage who was probably the greatest intellectual figure of India's ancient history, was the putative father of Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāstra. After grouping

¹ Vs. III, 4 Ch.; Bh. XII, 6, 44-48.

² Gd, MBh. I, 69 ch.; XII, 349 ch.

³ Vide Wilson's Vedic Purana Book IV, 24 ch. p. 232 foot-note for the views of H. H. Wilson, Colonel Wilford, Buchanan &c.

the Vedas into four he entrusted them to his four disciples Paila, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Sumantu and these four in their turn handed them down to their disciples. To Vaiśampāyana was entrusted the teaching of the Yajurveda, and this Vaiśampāyana taught his disciple and sister's son Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā (Viṣṇu Purāṇa Book III Chapter V, 1-2. Vā. 61 ch., Bh. XII, 6, 53-54). As a result of a friction between Vaiśampāyana and his sister's son Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, the latter gave up the teaching of the Yajurveda which he received from his preceptor and uncle, and afterwards compiled and composed the Śukla Yajurveda (Vṣ III, 5ch., Gd. MBh. XII, 318 ch) also called the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā inasmuch as it was compiled by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā. The original Yajurveda which Vaiśampāyana used to teach was named the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, because the teaching of this was taken up by the Tittira class of Brāhmanas—the other disciples of Vaiśampāyana. It comes to this then that these universally alleged traditions converge towards proving that the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā were compiled round about, or to be more precise, a bit later by a few years than the events of the Mahābhārata, and we are of opinion that the truth of these statements about the time of compilation of these Saṃhitās preserved in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata can never be questioned.

Now let us turn to the attitude of Tilak about the time of compilation of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. He says (the Orion, 2nd edition, p. 41) "The vernal equinox coincided with the Krittikās when the Taittirīya Saṃhitā was compiled." From this Tilak infers (the Orion 2nd edition p. 57) that "the winter solstice occurred in those days on the full moon of Māgha" "According to the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣha" continues Tilak (Orion p. 57) "it (i. e. the winter solstice) fell a fortnight earlier i. e. on the first day of the bright half of Māgha" From this Tilak calculates the

date of compilation of the Taittiriya Saṃhitā to be 2350 B. C. (pp. 55-59) taking $14^{\circ} 10'$ as the distance between the 10th degree of Bharanī and the asterism of Kṛttikā.

We have seen before that the time of compilation of the Taittiriya Saṃhitā, or the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, and above all, of the compilation of the Vedas themselves by Vedavyāsa can never be prior to the events of the Mahābhārata. Here Tilak asks us to believe that the Taittiriya Saṃhitā was compiled about 2350 B. C., and to believe at the same time that about the time of the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava the winter solstice coincided with the beginning of Dhanīṣṭhā as described in the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa; and the coincidence of the winter solstice with the beginning of Dhanīṣṭhā according to Tilak himself took place about 1181 B. C. or 1269 B. C. or 1400 B. C. To put it more concisely, Tilak places the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava about 1181 B. C. or 1269 B. C. or 1400 B. C. and yet he feels no hesitation to place Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya about 2350 B. C. It is abundantly clear from the above that Tilak asks us to believe in an absurdity. He virtually requests us to believe that Vaiśampāyana, the compiler of the Taittiriya Saṃhitā or Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyī, the compiler-author of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, lived twelve centuries before the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava. No one, I hope, will be prepared to accept this absurd conclusion when it is distinctly borne in mind that the Vedas themselves were grouped into four by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vedavyāsa after the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha was burnt down by his youthful grandson Arjuna Pāṇḍava.

The conclusion therefore is inevitable that the Māghī full moon like the Phālgunī full moon and the Caitrī full moon, was one of the three traditional beginnings of the year, that is, the coincidence of the Kṛttikās with the vernal equinox did not take place actually in the days of the compilation of the Taittiriya Saṃhitā but long before that event. That

particular passage in the *Taittiriya Samhitā*, as interpreted by Tilak in the light of later commentators, really records a tradition about the Māghī full moon having been once considered as the first day of the year. The very name *Samhitā* indicates that it is a compilation, although the materials compiled might be clothed in the polished style then prevalent amongst the priests. Besides the very fact that we are given no less than three beginnings of the year shows that they are records of earlier observations, and the priests in the days of the *Taittiriya Samhitā* and of the *Brāhmaṇas* were in the habit of not only utilizing these beginnings for annual sacrifices, but also using discretions as to which of them to choose. This shows how very risky it is to build up a system and to base conclusions on a doubtful passage of the *Taittiriya Samhitā* or of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

It may be thought necessary to discuss the views of scholars outside India. Professor Max Müller thought that the Vedas were composed about 1200 B. C. (*History of ancient Sanskrit literature*, p. 372). Afterwards he revised his opinion and named the period from 1500-1200 B. C. (*Chips*, I, 11). A. Weber placed the migration into the Indus valley bed in the 16th century B. C. (*Ind. Skizzen* pp. 14, 46 43). M. Haug thought that 2400-1400 B. C. was the period of Vedic hymns (*Introduction to the Ait. Bra.* I, 47-48); he arrived at this result on the analogy of similar periods in Chinese literature. The period 2000-1500 B. C. is estimated by Whitney (*OLST* 1, 21; *Introduction to Sanskrit Grammar* p. xiii). Bentrey thought similarly with Whitney (*Gd. Spr.* 600). F. Müller thought that the period between 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C. is probable (*Allg. Ethnogr.* p. 512).

With regard to these estimates, it may be observed, that they are on the whole unreasonable guesses and it is not surprising therefore that they have diverged widely from one another. But it is to be noticed that Professor Max Müller's estimate with regard to the lower limit of the *Rgvedic* Period has, nearly coincided with that arrived at in our enquiry, although that late Professor adopted an arbitrary method of calculation.

CHAPTER XIX.

ARYAN SETTLEMENT OF INDIA DURING THE RGVEDIC PERIOD.

Dr. Abinashchandra Das says that (Rigvedic India, p. 8) "the land in which the Vedic Aryans lived is called *Septa-Sindhavah* or the Land of the Seven Rivers which included the Indus or the Sindhu with its principal tributaries on the west and the Sarasvati on the east." "The Ganges and the Yamunā", the Doctor continues, "have been mentioned only once or twice but they have not been included in the computation of seven rivers which gave the country its name." Finally he says that because we do not find any mention of Pāñcāla, Kōsala and Magadha in the R̥gveda, therefore they did not exist during the R̥gvedic times, and that their place was occupied by a long stretch of sea that extended from the eastern shores of *Septa Sindhu* to the confines of Assam. The existence of the hypothetical sea is inferred from the mention, by a certain poet, in the R̥gveda, of the eastern and the western seas¹. Now these conclusions seem to have been drawn rather hurriedly. It is somewhat surprising to find it solemnly stated that because Pāñcāla, Kōsala and Maghada &c. are not mentioned in the R̥gveda therefore they did not exist (*Argumentum ex Silentio*) during the R̥gvedic times. It is really strange that because the sons of the R̥ṣi Vātaraśana namely Etasa, Réyaśr̥ga &c. mention the eastern and the western seas, Dr. Das therefore would posit the existence of a sea from the Punjab to Assam. Let us examine closely how far these remarks of his are warranted by evidence.

In the R̥gveda* the poet Viśvāmitra, while invoking the *Aśvins*, mentions the river *Jahnāvi*. Sāyana in explaining

¹ Rv. X, 136, 5.

* Rv. III, 58, 6.

the word "Jahnāvi" says that the river Ganges is meant and renders it by "Jahnukulajā". Wilson says "it might imply the Ganges Jāhnavi if we had reason to suppose that the legend of her origin from Jahnu was known to the Vedas." Wilson would not have expressed this sort of hesitancy had he perceived that some of the Purāṇic legends were Vedic in origin, and that the Purāṇas were primarily meant to represent the history of India of the Vedic Age. It is well known to the Purāṇist versed in Vedic literature that Jahnu was the distant ancestor of the author of the Ṛk in question¹ and belonged to the early Rgvedic Age and that his sacrificial ground was inundated by the waters of the Ganges.² It was in commemoration of this important event that the river became afterwards well known as Jāhnavi. It is well known that rivers, hills, towns, countries were named in this fashion in ancient India. Śrāvastī, Viśālā, Vidarbha, Aṅga, Cedi, Bhāgirathī, Hastināpura are the other examples. Secondly, Gaṅgā has been explicitly mentioned in the Rgveda³ by Saṃyu, the son of BṛhaspatiII. Saṃyu, who was the brother of Bharadvāja⁴ speaks of the high bank of the Ganges in the Rgveda⁵ which shows that he was familiar with the Gangetic valley. Thirdly Sindhuksit, the son of Priyamedha Āṅgīrasa, explicitly mentions the river Gaṅgā in the Rgveda⁶. He could not have done this had he not been acquainted with the river. Fourthly, consider the decisive evidence of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where it will be found that Bharata, the son of Duṣmanta, performed seventy eight Aśvamedha sacrifices on the bank of the Yamunā and fifty-five on the bank of the Gaṅgā.⁷

¹ जह्नु इत्येवमेवो राह्वर्षाद्विष्णोः स विष्णोः पितृणां आत्मनो राज्ञो यत्तपस्यकृत् स राह्वर्षकृत्
भराद्विष्णोः || Pānc. Br. XXI, 12, 2; Va. 91, 48-53; Hv. I, 32, 42-52.

² Va. 91, 54-58; Hv. I, 32, 42-47.

³ Rv. VI, 45, 31.

⁴ Rv. VI, 48, 7.

⁵ Rv. VI, 46, 31.

⁶ Rv. X, 75, 5.

⁷ Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 4, II; 21.

Fifthly in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa it will be found that Bharata Daśmanti performed no less than seventy eight horse-sacrifices on the bank of the Yamunā and fifty-five at a sacred spot named Vṛtraghna on the bank of the Gaṅgā.¹ This most famous king of the Vedic Age, mentioned in the Rgveda² was, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa³, crowned with the Aindra-Mahābhīṣeka ceremony by Dīrghatamas Māmateya, the author of the Rgveda I, 140-164. The Rgveda was not meant to chronicle all these details about kings and poets of the Vedic Age. It is only by chance that we happen to meet a few of them here and there in the course of prayers offered in honour of the deities and eulogies offered to the gifts of some kings or R̥sis.

The valley of the Yamunā also was colonised during the Rgvedic period, as is attested by the evidence of Sindhuksīt, the son of Priyamedha Āngirasa; Sindhuksīt notices the river Yamunā in his composition *i. e.* Rgveda⁴ and we have just now seen in the Śatapatha and the Aitareya that Bharata performed seventy-eight horse sacrifices on the bank of the Yamunā. The same incident is mentioned in the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas. Consider fourthly the fact already mentioned that the famous Pāṇcala king of the Vedic Age, Sahadeva Sārṇajaya, (the father of Sōrnaka) mentioned in the Rgveda⁵ the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁶ and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁷ performed grand sacrifices on the Yamunā at the well known Tirtha named Agniśiras.⁸ Consider fifthly the explicit statement of Śyāvāśva, the son of Arcanānas Ātreya. Śyāvāśva says⁹ "May I get famous cows on the bank of the river Yamunā" Śyāvāśva Arcanānasa could not have declared this, had he not been already

¹ Ait. Br. VIII, 23, 21.

² Rv. VI, 16, 4; V, 54, 14.

³ Ait. Br. VIII, 23; 21.

⁴ Rv. X, 75, 5.

⁵ Rv. I, 100 17; IV, 15, 4; 7; 8; 9 10.

⁶ Ait. Br. VII, 34, 2.

⁷ Sat. Br. II, 4, 4, 3; 4.

⁸ Kumb. MBh. III, 88, 5; Gd. MBh. III, 90, 5.

⁹ Rv. V, 52, 17.

acquainted with the valley of the Yamunā. Consider sixthly the evidence of Vasistha, the priest of Sudās Paijavana. Vasistha says¹ while describing the victory of Sudās over ten kings "In this battle, Indra killed Bheda; Yamunā and the Tṛtsus pleased him." Sāyana in explaining the R̥k makes it quite clear as to how the river Yamunā could please the Vedic God Indra. Men inhabiting the banks of the river Yamunā pleased Indra. This shows how decisively the valley of the Yamunā was colonised by the Aryans. Consider seventhly that the famous Cakravartin king Mandhātṛ who belonged to the early Vedic Age (mentioned in the R̥gveda,² the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa³ and all the Purāṇas) performed sacrifices on the bank of the Yamunā where many R̥ṣis used to live⁴. At the same place on the Yamunā, Sōmaka Sāhadevya also performed sacrifices⁵. Ninthly the Harivaṃśa,⁶ the Viṣṇu Purāṇa⁷ the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁸ and the Mahābhārata⁹ state in distinct terms that in his childhood, Śrīkṛṣṇa used to play on the bank of the Yamunā; that he compelled a Nāga chieftian Kālīya to submit at that place. These incidents about Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva have been clothed in romantic garb owing to the fact that he was raised to the status of a deity in later times on account of his many achievements, and also owing to the general reason that old accounts often get mixed up with romance. It is extremely unwise to suppose that the acts ascribed to juvenile Śrīkṛṣṇa have been later developments round nothing. There must be a nucleus round which developments may occur. We have already shown that the R̥gvedic period extends right up to some of the events of the Mahābhārata, that Vedavyāsa compiled

¹ Rv. VIII, 18, 19.

² Rv. I, 112, 13; VIII, 39, 8; X, 2, 2. ³ Gop. Br. II, 10.

⁴ Kumh. MBh. III, 126, 26.

⁵ Kumh. MBh. III, 126, 26.

⁶ Hv. I, 67ch.

⁷ Vs. V, 7 ch.

⁸ Bh. X, 15, 47; 16, 1-67 &c.

⁹ Gd. MBh. I, 222 ch.

and grouped the Vedas after the forest of Khāṇḍava praśtha was burnt down by his grandson Arjuna; and because the beginning of the events of the Mahābhārata represents full-fledged Indo-Aryan civilisation spread almost all over the Āryāvarta, it will be admitted that the valleys of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā were inhabited by the Aryans during the Rgvedic Period. We have seen before that according to Dr. Das (Rigvedic India p. 8) 'the Vedic Aryans lived in the land of seven rivers which included the Indus or the Sindhu with its principal tributaries on the west and the Sarasvatī on the east.' He means to say that the Sarasvatī was the eastern boundary of the land of the Rgvedic Aryans. It is now clear on how slender evidence this view of his rests. Dr. Das has perhaps perceived his weakness afterwards for we find him making the shadowy statement (Rigvedic India Vol. I.) that the valleys of the Ganges and the Yamunā were "not so eagerly sought for" by the Rgvedic Aryans.

Even the Southern Kōśala, Cedi, Daśārṇa, Niṣadha Vidarbha &c. situated at the foot of the Vindhya were Aryan settlements during the Rgvedic period. The mention of the Cedis in the Rgveda¹ particularly of the Cedi king Kaśu in the Rgveda², and the interesting description in the Nalōpākhyānam of the Mahābhārata, of the kings of Cedi, Daśārṇa, Niṣadha, Vidarbha, Southern Kōśala &c., and the Purāṇic mention of the king named Cedi, the son of Kauśika as the ancestor of the Caidya kings point to the conclusion that the Aryans were settled at the foot of the Vindhya during the medieval Rgvedic period. And as the Southern Kōśala and Vidarbha were just to the south of the Vindhya we may conclude that a portion of the Deccan also was occupied. It has been described in Chapter VII. on the Northern Pāñcālas as well as in Chapter I on Divōdāsa and Daśaratha that

¹ Rv. VIII, 5, 37; 38; 40.

² Rv. VIII, 5, 37.

Trkṣa, Bṛhmyaśva, Mudgala, Vadhryaśva, Divōdāsa, Pijavana, Sudās, Sṛñjaya, Sahadeva, Sōmaka &c. all belonged to the Northern Pāñcāla dynasty. We have also seen that the existence of every one of them is evidenced by the R̥gveda, Anukramanīs to the R̥gveda, the Śrauta Sūtras, the Bṛhaddevatā, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa &c. We have also seen that Indrasenā, the wife of Mudgala as mentioned in R̥gveda¹, was no other than the daughter of Nala by Damayanṭī as attested by the Mahābhārata². We also know that the father of Indrasenā, *i. e.* the famous Nala mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ was the king of Niśadha; and this Niśadha we have established to have been situated at the foot of the Vindhya. The Śatapatha evidently means that Niśadha Nāda was a king of the south. Bṛhmyaśva, the father of the R̥gvedic Ṛṣi Mudgala, was the contemporary of Nala's friend R̥tuparna Aikṣvāka. We have established in Chapter XII on the southern Kōśala line, that this Kōśala kingdom of R̥tuparna was the southern Kōśala (=Śaphālā) which was also situated at the south of the Vindhya, and that in approximately 11 hours R̥tuparna drove to Vidarbha which was a contiguous state. No sane scholar should expect to find these interesting details in the R̥gveda which may very properly be termed a book of versified prayers offered to Indra, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, Rudra, the Maruts, &c. It is in the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣats, the Śrauta-Sūtras, the Bṛhaddevatā and works like them that should be consulted in order that India of the R̥gvedic Age may be properly understood.

Turning to Dr. Das's attitude about Kikāṭa, we find him saying that because there was a sea to the east of the Sapta-Sindhu therefore this Kikāṭa of the R̥gveda⁴ *does not*

¹ Rv. X, 102, 2.

² Kumb. MBh. III, 114, 24.

³ Sat. Br. II, 2, 2, 1; 3.

⁴ Rv. III, 53, 14.

and *cannot* mean Magadha (Rigvedic India, p. 8, foot note). Sāyana says that Kikāṭa was the land of the Non-Aryans. A very old authority like Yaska gives evidence to the same effect¹. Wilson says "Kikāṭa is usually identified with south Behar." Weber says "In the Rik Samhitā where the Kikāṭas the ancient people of Magadha—and their king Pramaganda are mentioned as hostile, we have probably to think of the aborigines of the country." These statements of Wilson and Weber are founded on solid evidence, but as according to Dr. Das a sea must be supposed to have stretched in the Rgvedic period from the Sapta-Sindhu to Assam, this Kikāṭa could not but be in the Sapta-Sindhu itself and a hilly tract there (Rigvedic India, p. 8, foot note). Afterwards Dr. Das almost withdraws his statement by saying that the ships of the Rgvedic Aryan merchants in their voyage in the eastern sea over the Gangetic trough probably touched south Behar (Rigvedic India, p. 8, foot note). Dr. Das should have noted the fact that the author of the hymn² in which Kikāṭa is mentioned was Viśvāmitra, the former priest of Sudās Pajavana, and that Dīvodāsa, Pijavana, Sudās, Sahadeva, Sōmaka &c., all belonged to the Northern Pāṇcāla dynasty. As to Kikāṭa, we invite the attention of scholars to the decisive statement in the Vāyu Purāṇa³ which says that in the province of Kikāṭa, are situated the sacred Gayā, the sacred forest of Rājagṛha, the sacred hermitage of Cyavana, and the sacred river Punaḥpunā. This shows that a forest near the capital was named after it and was considered sacred by the pilgrims and that the hermitage of Cyavana was established there before the time of compilation of this portion of the Vāyu Purāṇa. This time is probably post-Vedic as the sacredness of Kikāṭa is enjoined. Gayā was also situated in the province of Kikāṭa. Turning again to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁴, we come

¹ Nir. VI, 32.

² Va. 108, 73.

³ Rv. III, 53, 14.

⁴ Bh. I, 3, 24.

across the interesting information that towards the beginning of the Kali Age, the Almighty God came down to this world as Buddha, the descendant of Añjana, in the province of Kikāṣa. Śrīdhara, commenting on this, says that by Kikāṣa is meant the province of Gayā. The Rgvedic Rṣi Kaksīvant went, with his father Dirghatamas, to Giribraja and performed austerities there¹. All these interesting informations prove that there was no sea to the east of Sapta-Sindhu during the Rgvedic Period. We strengthen our position by the following further evidences. In the Rgveda², Medhātithi, the son of Kaṇva, addresses the king Vibhīndu and praises his gift. Both Kātyāyana and Sāyana give evidence to the same fact, namely that Kāṇva Medhātithi was praising the gift of the King Vibhīndu in that Rk.³ Turning now to the evidence of the Rṣi Medhyātithi, the son of Kaṇva we find that he accepted gifts from the king Pākasthāman, the son of Kurayāna⁴. Medhyātithi Kāṇva also calls Pākasthāman, the king of the country of Bhōja⁵. Both Kātyāyana and Sāyana give evidence to the same fact, namely that the 4 Rks from the 21st to the 24 Rk of the 3rd hymn of Maṇḍala VIII was composed by Kāṇva Medhyātithi on the occasion of his accepting gifts from the king Pākasthāman, the son of Kurayāna⁶. Turning now to the Vedic work, the Brhaddevatā we find it stated that Vibhīndu was the king of Kāśi and Pākasthāman was the king of Bhōja⁷. This information of Saunaka is extremely interesting as it shows that in the early Rgvedic Age the kingdoms of Kāśi and Bhōja were already in existence, and the Purāṇas are thus admirably supported when they hold that the ancient kingdom of Kāśi had already been ruled in the

¹ Va. 99, 93; Mt. 18, 84-87.

² Rv. VIII, 2, 41.

³ Sarv. Kram. & Say. Kram. on Rv. VIII, 2, 41.

⁴ Rv. VIII, 3, 21-24.

⁵ Rv. VIII, 3, 24.

⁶ Kat. & Say. on Rv. VIII, 3, 21-24.

⁷ Br. Dv. VI, 42.

early Vedic Age by Dīrghatapas and that after him, his descendant Dhanvantari, the founder of the Āyurveda, was the king of Kāśī¹. After them the kings Bhīmaratha, Divōdāsa Pratardana, Alarka &c., were the kings of Kāśī according to the Purāṇas, and finally in the Sarvānukramanī to the Ṛgveda, it will be found that Pratardana, the son of Divōdāsa, the king of Kāśī, was the joint author of the Ṛgveda X, 179. When we have shown before from the Rāmāyaṇa², that Pratardana the king of Kāśī was of the same age as Rāma Daśarathi and that he came to Ayōdhyā when the coronation of that great Aikṣvāka king was performed; when we further recognize that Bhiṣma Śāntanava, the nephew of the author of Ṛgveda X, 98 took away the three daughters of the king of Kāśī in order to marry them to his brother Vicitravīrya; when at last we remember the fact that Kāśī was settled by the Ṛgvedic Aryans long before the Mahābhārata period and therefore long before the burning of the forest of Khāṇḍavaprāsthā from which the Ṛgvedic Rṣis³ Jaritṛ, Drōṇa, Stambamitra and Sārisṛkta escaped there can be absolutely no room for positing the existence of a sea between the Punjab and the confines of Assam during the Ṛgvedic period as Dr. Das has done.

We add yet another evidence in favour of Kāśī. We know that Agastya, the descendant of Māna, was the author of the Ṛgveda I, 165-191 as evidenced by the Sarvānukramanī, the Sāyanukramanī, the Bṛhaddevatā as well as the very texts of the Rks themselves. This famous Rṣi's wife was Lōpāmudrā⁴. It was by virtue of Lōpāmudrā's blessings that Alarka the famous king of Kāśī got a long life⁵. After all, Kāśī is very old having been established by Sunahōtra's grandson Kāśī in the early Ṛgvedic Age. Lōpāmudrā was the daughter of the king of Vidarbha⁶.

¹ Va. 92, 18; 21.

² N. Ram. VII, 38, 15.

³ Rv. X, 143; Kumb. MBh. XIII, 53, 21-23; I, 254, 47; I, 255-257.

⁴ Rv. I, 179.

⁵ Gd. MBh. III, 25, 13; Va. 92, 67.

⁶ Kumb. MBh. XIII, 200, 11.

The poet Dr̥dhacyuta was born to her and Dr̥dhacyuta's son was Iddhavāha. Both Dr̥dhacyuta and Iddhavāha were R̥gvedic poets (Śarv. Kr. to Rv. IX, 25 ; 26.) Bhīma Vaidarbha mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 34) as a contemporary of the R̥gvedic kings Sahadeva Śārījaya, Sōmaka Sāhadevya &c. belonged necessarily to the R̥gvedic Period. It shows that the kingdom of Vīdarbha of which the modern name is Berar existed during the Medieval R̥gvedic Period when the poet Māndārya Agastya flourished and composed songs in honour of the Vedic Gods Indra and the Maruts.

Passing on to Dr. Das's attitude about Kōsala, we find him stating that Kōsala could not have existed during the R̥gvedic Period because there is no mention of it in the R̥gveda. As we have said before it is useless to find the mention of countries settled in a collection of hymns such as the R̥gveda primarily is. Whatever historical information we may get there we get out of sufferance. The R̥gvedic Age can never be properly understood unless we tap other sources of information already mentioned. The famous king Kṣemadhrtvan, the son of Puṇḍarika, mentioned in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa¹, was a king of Kōsala and belonged to the R̥gvedic Period. Remember also Para Aṭpāra Hairaṇyanābha Kausalya mentioned in the Samhitās,² Brāhmaṇas³ and Śrauta Sūtras⁴. Daśaratha was the king of Ayōdhyā which was a portion of Kōsala and married Kausalyā i. e. the daughter of the king of Kōsala. It was Śrāvasta Yauvanāśva who founded the town Śrāvastī named after him in the early Vedic Age, and this town afterwards became the capital of Northern Kōsala.

¹ Panc. Bra. XXII, 18, 7.

² Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 5, 3 ; Kath. Samh. XXII, 3.

³ Panc. Bra. XXV, 16, 3 ; Jaim. Up. Bra. II, 6, 11 ; Sat. Bra. XIII, 5, 4, 4.

⁴ Samkh. Sam. XVI, 9, 11.

The R̥gvedic sage Namū Sāpya (=Nimi of the Purāṇas), who killed the Dāsa chief Namuci¹, was the king of Videha². This shows that Videha was an Aryan settlement during the R̥gvedic Period. Remember also the cases of Rajana Kaṁcya³, Ugradeva Rājani,⁴ Kratujit Jānaki,⁵ Keśin,⁶ Khāṇḍika,⁷ Khāṇḍika Audbhāri⁸ all of whom belonged to the R̥gvedic Period and are mentioned in the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta Sūtras. The R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Gōtama Rāhugana was the priest of Māthava Videgha⁹.

Even Anga was a settlement of the Aryans during the R̥gvedic Period. In the Mahābhārata (I, 113 ch., Kumbha Kōnam recension) it is related in interesting detail that the R̥gvedic R̥ṣi Dirghatamas Māmataya, after being thrown into the Ganges was rescued by the Kṣātriya king Vali who took the R̥ṣi to his house and, according to the custom of Niyoga then prevalent in the Aryan society, requested the R̥ṣi to raise progeny on the queen. The queen disliked the old poet, but being afraid of her husband ordered her maid servant to go to the poet. Accordingly the famous Kaksīvant, the author of the R̥gveda I, 116-126 etc. was born. Being apprised of the fact that the queen did not go to the R̥ṣi, the king Vali ordered her again to approach him. This time the queen obeyed, and Aṅga and his brothers were born. The different provinces in which they were installed as kings have, according to the Purāṇas, been named after them. The Mahābhārata finishes by remarking that many Kṣātriyas (=Rulers) of India were

¹ Rv. I, 53, 7; VI, 20, 6.

² Panc. Br. XXV, 10, 17.

³ Taitt. Samh. II, 3, 8, 1; Panc. Br. XIII, 1, 11.

⁴ Panc. Br. XIV, 3, 17; XXIII, 16, 11; Taitt. Ar. V, 1, 12.

⁵ Taitt. Samh. II, 3, 8, 1; Kāth. Samh. XI, 1; Ait. Br. VII, 34.

⁶ Baudh. Śrau. XVII, 54; Sat. Br. XI, 8, 4, 6; Jaim. Up. Br. III, 29, 1 et seq.

⁷ Baudh. Śrau. XVII, 5, 1.

⁸ Sat. Br. XI, 8, 4, 6; Muir. Samh. I, 1, 12.

⁹ Sat. Br. I, 4, 1, 10 et. seq.; XI, 4, 3, 20.

the sons of Brāhmaṇas (i. e. the authors of Vedic hymns).

There is absolutely nothing to impeach this very interesting information recorded in the Mahābhārata, for we find that the same account of the birth of Kaksīvant is preserved in the Vedic work Bṛhaddevatā² (IV, 21-24) which gives the additional information that the name of the maid-servant of Vali was Uśik. All the Purāṇas unanimously support the same account of the Mahābhārata, and Sāyana supports it in his introduction to the 116th hymn of Maṇḍala I of the R̥gveda. Accordingly we are of opinion that the account in the Mahābhārata is sober history and none is entitled to discredit it.

The whole affair shows that the kingdom of Anga was established towards the medieval R̥gvedic period. That the kingdom of Anga existed towards the beginning of the later R̥gvedic period is evidenced by the existence of its king Rōmapāda who was a descendant of Anga Vāleya and who was a friend of Daśaratha Aikṣvāka, the contemporary of Atithigva Divōdāsa. This Rōmapāda's son-in-law was the Vedic R̥si R̥ṣyaśṛṅga Vibhāṇḍaki whose existence is attested not only by the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, but also by the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda. Vibhāṇḍaka had his hermitage on the Kauśikī (=the modern Kuṣi in Purnea).³

Finally we must confess that we have not been able to follow up Dr. Das when he identifies Sapta Sindhavaḥ with the Punjab. We consult the R̥gveda⁴ for the word and everywhere the word Sapta-Sindhavaḥ means the famous seven rivers namely, the *Gaṇḍā*, the *Yamunā*, the *Sarasvatī*, the *Satadri*, the *Paruṣṇī*, the *Marudvrdhā* with which the *Asiknī* joins, and the *Arjikiyā* with which the *Vitastā* and the *Susōmā* join. These famous seven rivers

¹ Br. Dr. IV, 21-24.

² Gd. MBh. III, 110, 22-26.

³ Rv. I, 32, 12; VIII, 69, 12; VIII, 96, 1; IX, 66, 6; X, 43, 3.

mentioned by the R̥ṣi Sindhuksit, the son of Priyamedha Āgīrasa, in the R̥gveda X, 75, 5, are always meant by the word *Sapta-Sindhavaḥ*. If the word *Sapta-Sindhavaḥ*, instead of meaning the seven rivers, must mean the land of the seven rivers or the valley of the seven rivers, it is difficult to understand why Dr. Das excludes the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā from the list (*Rigvedic India*, p. 8) in the face of the fact that the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā are the very first and the second in the series. Thus it is really difficult to understand what Dr. Das means by stating "The Ganges and the Yamunā have not been included in the computation of seven rivers which gave the country its name" (*Rigvedic India*, p. 8).



CHAPTER XX.

(For of the Date of the Mahābhārata war.)

FROM BIMBISĀRA TO CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA.

With great diffidence, we now proceed to settle the chronology of this period of Indian history. Three sources are available, the Purāṇas, the Pāli Canon of the Buddhists and the literature of the Jains. Scholars have ranged themselves on one side or the other, some attach importance to the Pāli texts, some to the Purāṇas, while others have been inclined towards the Jain chronology. The task is really difficult, and has puzzled the scholars for a long time. We shall see how far these sources can be reconciled.

It is related in the Mahāvamśa that virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by own father.¹ Bimbisāra reigned full 15 years when Siddhārtha paid him his first visit.² After this visit, Bimbisāra reigned for 37 years more³ so that according to the Mahāvamśa the total reign-period of Bimbisāra was one of 52 years. The Vāyu and the Matsya however allot him a reign of 28 years⁴. The period in years in the Brahmāṇḍa⁵ for Bimbisāra is given as 'aṣṭatrimśat' which is evidently a corruption for 'aṣṭavimśat'. 'Vimśat' in one Purāṇa has often been changed into 'trimśat' in another for many kings in the Purāṇic dynastic lists. It may be admitted then that the Purāṇas allot 28 years to Bimbisāra. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa say⁶ that Darśaka succeeded Bimbisāra and that he ruled for 25 years, but the Matsya⁷ allots 24 years to Darśaka corrupting his name into Vamśaka. The

¹ MV. 11, 28.

² MV. 11, 30.

³ Ed. iii 74, 131.

⁴ MV. 11, 30.

⁵ Va. 99, 318; Mt. 272, 7.

⁶ Va. 99, 318; Ed. iii 74, 131.

⁷ Mt. 272, 8.

truth seems to be that Darśaka was associated in the government of Bimbisāra for 24 years after which Bimbisāra was succeeded by Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra, by Cellaṇā, the daughter of Ceṭaka, the Licchavi chief of Vaiśālī. There is no reason to doubt the tradition handed down to us by Bhāsa¹ that Udayana the king of Kauśāmbī married Padmāvatī, the sister of Darśaka, the king of Magadhā. That was the tradition in the third century A.D. to which Bhāsa may belong. The same tradition is preserved in the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara which however cannot name the Magadhā king whose daughter was married to Udayana. We shall see later on that Udayana and Ajātaśatru were contemporaries and belonged to the same generation. Udayana was probably older than Ajātaśatru by a few years. Hence Udayana could not have married the grand-daughter of Ajātaśatru, as rightly shown by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Hence Udayan's brother-in-law could have been Ajātaśatru or Darśaka, the successor of Bimbisāra. The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa are probably right in placing Darśaka just after Bimbisāra. Darśaka was most probably one Bimbisāra's many sons and managed the state affairs for 24 years during the life-time of Bimbisāra. This being in agreement with the statement in the Mahāvamśa that Bimbisāra reigned for 52 years (=28+24), being reconcilable with the traditions of Bhāsa and Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara, being further strengthened by the order of succession in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, seems to be the true history, and the identification of Darśaka with Nāga-Dāsaka stands on a bad philology and therefore

¹ काव्य-कीर्त—एषा जडु गृहभिरभिहितनामपेयस्वभावा
महाराजदशैकस्य मनिनी पद्मावती नाम ।

श्रीमद्भारव—एषा वा मगधराजस्यौ पद्मावती नाम, &c.

Swap, Visay. I.

on a wrong ground ; for 'Dāsaka' is not the softened Pali variant from 'Darśaka.' The suffix 'क' in 'दासक' is diminutive or indicative of contempt. The name is Nāga-Dāsa in one of the Buddhistic literatures. Both the names (Nāga-Dāsaka or Nāga-Dāsa) mean 'a slave of Nāga.' It is not a personal name at all, but a nick-name. This king was most certainly so nick-named because he was practically a slave in the hands of Śiśunāga. His personal name was unknown to the Pali authorities.

Bimbisāra had many sons namely Abhaya¹ Śilavant,² Vimala Kūṇḍañṇā³ (by Ambapālī, the public girl), Ajatasaṭṭu, (by Cellanā) and probably Darśaka etc. Of these sons, Prince Abhaya once found an infant lying on a heap of dust. It was the child of Śūlavatī, the public girl. Abhaya brought the child up and named him Jīvaka. Jīvaka went to Takṣaśilā, learned that branch of the Ayurveda which is called Kaumārabhr̥tyā, came back an expert Kaumārabhr̥tya to Rājagrha, cured Bimbisāra of fistula, was appointed a royal surgeon and served the Buddhist Bhikṣu fraternity at Rājagrha⁴. The derivation of the name Jīvaka Kōmārabhacca by the Mahāvagga reminds us of the Purāṇic derivative legends round about the names Jarāsandha, Māndhātṛ, Drōṇa Bhāradvāja, Patañjali, Akṣapāda Gautama &c. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has just slipped it. Bimbisāra married Kōśaladevī, the daughter of Mahākōśala, the father of Prasenañjit, the king of Kōśala. On account of the frequent night attacks on the old capital Kuśāgrapura, and the houses of citizens therein being set on fire at night by the Licchavis, Bimbisāra built the new town of Rājagrha to the north of Giribraja to check their invasions.⁵ Afterwards he made peace with them by marrying Cellanā, the daughter of Ceṭaka, the Licchavi chief of Vaiśālī⁶. she was also named

¹ Mahāvagga. VIII, 1, 4 et. Seq. ² Theragatha Trans. p. 269.

³ Theragatha p. 65.

⁴ Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 4 et. seq.

⁵ Vinaya pitaka.

⁶ Jacobi, Introd. S. B. E. Vol. XXII.

Vāsavī and was the niece of Gōpāla.¹ Thus after making peace by matrimonial alliances with the houses of Kōsala and Vaiśālī, he annexed Anga to his kingdom, the capital of which *i.e.* Campā was occupied and destroyed by Śātānīka II, the king of Kauśāmbī, a few years before Bimbisāra's annexation.² Bimbisāra made over the charge of government to his son Ajātaśatru when the latter was about to stab him with a dagger but was seized upon by the officers. Ajātaśatru, however, starved him to death, and afterwards expressed repentance to Buddha for his sin.³ Darsaka, Śilavānt, Vimala etc. went away as Buddhist monks for fear of Ajātaśatru. Ajātaśatru (= Kūṇika) was, according to Hemacandra, overpowered with sorrow at the death of his father, and transferred his capital from Rājagṛha to Campā.⁴ When Ajātaśatru starved his father Bimbisāra to death, Kōsaladevī, the step-mother of Ajātaśatru, died from grief at the loss of her husband. Her father Mahākōsala, when he gave her in marriage to Bimbisāra, granted a village in the district of Kāśī as bath-powder money⁵ (नहान-चूर्ण-मूल = स्नानचूर्ण-मूल). After the death of Bimbisāra and Kōsaladevī, Ajātaśatru was in possession of this village, but Prasenañjit, the son of Mahākōsala, thought that the parricide Ajātaśatru should not be allowed to enjoy the village, and so resolved to dispossess him. Thus there was a war between Prasenañjit and Ajātaśatru. In three successive campaigns Prasenañjit was beaten, but in the fourth campaign on account of his arranging his forces in a caravan-like array (शकटबद्ध), Ajātaśatru was defeated and taken a prisoner to Śrāvastī, the capital of Kōsala.

¹ Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 63. ² *Kalpasutra* (Book VI).

³ *Jat.* V, 261-2; *Digh. Nik.* 1, 85; *Dialogues of the Buddha* 1899, p. 94; *S. B. B.* II, 94; *Rockhill, Life of the Buddha* p. 95 et. seq.

⁴ *Śilav.* Car. VI, 32.

⁵ नहान-चूर्ण is best rendered by 'bath-powder' and not by 'bath and perfume' as Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has done.

Prasenajit had a daughter named Vajirā or Vajirī Kumārī¹, and his son Viḍūḍabha by his wife Vāsava Kṣattriyā, was his general². He gave his daughter Vajirā in marriage to Ajātaśatru and dismissed the newly married couple with the village in Kāśi as the dowery of Vajirā. The first minister of Prasenajit was Migāra or Mrgadhara³ who was a sceptic and an adherent of the naked Tīrthakas (i.e. Nirgrantha ascetics). A second was Digha Kārāyana⁴ (= Dirgha Cārāyana) who was an authority on established practices of kings.⁵ Prasenajit's mahāmātra was Śirivadda and his famous elephant was Ekapuṇḍarika.⁶

Ajātaśatru now turned his attention to attack the confederacy of Vaiśālī. This confederacy consisted of nine clans, some of which were the Licchivis (or Licchavis), the Vṛjis (or Vajjis), the Jūstrikas, and the Videhas. This confederacy of nine clans was known as the confederacy of the Vṛjis or of the Licchivis, as the Vṛjis and the Licchivis were the most important of the nine clans. These nine Licchivi clans again federated themselves with the nine Mallakī clans and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśi-Kōśala. Kiki was the king of the Kāśis,⁷ while Ceṭaka was the king of the Licchivis proper and had his capital at Vaiśālī. Ceṭaka's daughter Ceḷlanā, as we have seen, was the mother of Ajātaśatru, while Triśulā, sister of Ceṭaka, was the mother of Mahāvira.

However, Kūṇik-Ajātaśatru made protracted war on the confederacy of the Licchivis, the Mallakis and the eighteen

¹ Majjh. Nik. II. (Majjhimsapaṇṇāsam), 87 Ch., R. Chalmers' edition p. 119.

² Majjh. Nik. II, 87 ch., p. 119; 90 Ch., p. 130.

³ Hoerule, Uvāsagadasāo, Appendix III, p. 56.

⁴ Majjh. Nik. II. Majjhimsapaṇṇāsam, 89, Robert Chalmers' edition p. 118.

⁵ Arthasastra 95 ch.

⁶ Majjh. Nik. II, 88 ch, Chalmers' edition p. 112.

⁷ Majjh. Nik. II, 81 Ch.

Gaṇarājas of Kāśī-Kōśala for more than sixteen years, and at last was able to effect their ruin which it was his firm resolve to do, although his cause was unrighteous.¹

As a result of this war, Vaiśālī, Videha, Kāśī and probably a small portion of Kōśala also were annexed to the kingdom of Ajātaśatru, but a greater portion of Kōśala over which Prasenajit or his son Viśvudabha reigned, continued to maintain its independence till the descendants of the last king Sumitra of the line were uprooted Mahāpadma Nanda. The kingdom of Avantī whose capital was Ujjayinī, now stood as the only great rival of Magadha and the Majjima Nikāya informs us that powerful Ajātaśatru was busy in fortifying his capital, being afraid of an invasion by the fierce Pradyota (=Pajjota) of Avantī. But the invasion was not probably made, for the eloquent Buddhist Pali Canon or the Jaina literature would have recorded it, had it ever been made. The fame of the descendants of Pradyota was destroyed by Śiśunūga, as we shall see later.

Ajātaśatru reigned for 32 years.² It was at the eighth year of his reign that the great Gautama Buddha died.³ The Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa are wrong in allotting 25 years to Ajātaśatru.⁴

Ajātaśatru was, according to the Mahāvamśa, murdered by his son Udayibhadra, but the Sthavirāvalī-Carita informs us that Udāyin was overpowered with sorrow at the death of his father Ajātaśatru, and transferred his capital from Campā to Pāṭaliputra.⁵ This agrees with the interesting information supplied by the Vāyu that Udāyin founded the town of Kusumapura (=Pāṭaliputra) on the south bank of the Ganges in the fourth year of his reign.⁶ The order

¹ Uvāsagadśāśā, Appendix, II, p. 7.)

² MV. II, 31.

³ MV. II, 30.

⁴ Va. 99, 317; Ed. III, 74, 130.

⁵ Schav. Car. VI, 22-188.

⁶ Va. 99, 312.

of succession in the *Viṣṇu* which inserts Darśaka between Ajātaśatru and Udayāśva must be rejected, as we have seen before.

The *Sthavirāvalīcarita* informs us that Udāyin was a very powerful king and defeated and killed the king of a certain country, in battle and the son of that king went to Ujjayini, and to the king there related the story of his distress¹. The deposed prince got into the favour of the king of Avanti who became very jealous of Udāyin.² The king of Avanti helped the deposed prince who having been disguised as a monk, murdered Udāyin while asleep.³ This is evidently the hint of rivalry existing between Magadha and Avanti to become the one paramount power in Northern India. The annexation of Anga, the rooting out of the Vṛjis (or Vajjis), the Videhas, the conquest of the Kāśis, and the humbling down of Kōśala by Magadha, while the alliance between the houses of Vatsa and Avanti meant that the rivalry had already been begun; for we have already seen that Ajātaśatru was in dread of an attack on his capital by the fierce Pradyōta of Avanti. The contest was finally decided in favour of Magadha under the leadership of Śiśunāga who, according to the *Purāṇas*, destroyed the prestige and influence of the descendants of Pradyōta, as we shall see later on.

Udāyin according to the *Mahāvamśa*⁴ reigned for 16 years, but the *Vāyu*, the *Matsya* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* unanimously allot 33 years to Udāyin.⁵ It will appear afterwards that this *Purāṇic* figure cannot be accepted as the reign-period of Udāyin.

Hemacandra says that on the death of the Udāyin who left no heirs, the five royal insignia viz., the state elephant the horse, the parasol, the pitcher and the chowries were

¹ *Sthav. car.* VI, 189-190.

² *Sthav. Car.* VI, 191.

³ *Sthav. Car.* VI, 208.

⁴ *MV.* IV, 1-2.

⁵ *Ya.* 99, 319; *Mt.* 272, 19; *Bd.* III, 74, 132.

anointed by the ministers and led through the streets, and the procession met the marriage procession of a man named Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber; and the five royal insignia themselves pointed Nanda out as the king of Magadha.¹ Then the ministers, officials, citizens and inhabitants of villages gladly performed the 'abhiśeka' ceremony of Nanda.² Thus Nanda, the successor of Udayin become king 60 years after the death of Mahāvīra.³ Nanda and his descendants continued to rule Magadha till the last Nanda king was deposed by Viṣṇugupta Śākya 155 years after the death of Mahāvīra.⁴ Thus Hemacandra allots 95 years (=155-60) to Nanda and his descendants. This agrees fairly well with the Purāṇic tradition that the Nandas ruled for about a hundred years. The Purāṇas probably borrowed the information from ancient Jain sources.

The Mahāvamśa mentions Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga-Dāsaka as the lineal descendants of Udayin, and gives 8 years to Anuruddha and Muṇḍa, and 24 years to Nāga-Dāsaka (=The slave of Nāga). The Mahāvamśa is probably wrong in stating that Muṇḍa was the son of Anuruddha, for it is impossible on genealogical considerations that the joint reign-period of the father and the son should be only 8 years after the grand-father had died quite a young man after a short reign of 16 years only. The existence of Muṇḍa as the king of Magadha and as the descendant of Udayibhadra is attested by the Divyāvadāna⁵ while the Anguttara Nikāya⁶ describes in detail how Muṇḍa, the

¹ Sthav. Car. VI, 231-241.

² Sthav. Car. VI, 242.

³ अमलार्क वर्षमानसामिलिर्वाचयामरात् ।

गतायां वज्रिवत्सलायैव नन्दोऽभवत्, ॥ Sthav. Car. VI, 243

⁴ एवं च श्रीमद्धारोत्सुकं मेवेकं गते ।

पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिकं नन्दस्यतेजसवत्, ॥ Sthav. Car. VII, 339.

⁵ Divyavadāna, Cowell's edition XXVI, 369.

⁶ Ang. Nik. Nipata V, 50 (Mundarajavagga).

king of Pāṭaliputra, was overpowered with sorrow at the death of his queen Bhadrādevī. Muṇḍa's treasurer was Priyaka.

The statement in the Mahāvamśa (IV, 3-7) that Ajātaśatru and his lineal descendants Udāyin, Anuruddha, Muṇḍa, and Nāga-Dāsaka were parricides, is not wholly incredible as Kauṭilya likens the ancient Indian princes to crabs, generally branding them as parricides, and discusses the supreme need of guarding over them from their very birth. The names Anuruddha and Śuśunāga of the Mahāvamśa seem to be the corrupt forms of the correct names Aniruddha and Śiśunāga. Further, the Pāli authorities have most probably forgotten the real name of the successor of Muṇḍa. They call him by the name Nāga-Dāsa or Nāga-Dāsaka (=the slave of Nāga). This name indicates that this worthless king was a mere puppet in the hands of Śiśunāga.

The Mahāvamśa states that the throne of Puṣpapura was offered by the citizens, ministers, officials etc. of Puṣpapura to Śuśunāga. The Sthavīrāvalīcarita omits the unimportant kings, Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga-Dāsa and states that after the death of Udāyin, the throne of Pāṭaliputra was offered by the ministers and citizens of Pāṭaliputra to Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber.² It is difficult to believe how the throne of Magadha could be offered to a man in the street and of such a low origin, by the ministers officials and citizens of Pāṭaliputra. Hemacandra remembered that the throne of Magadha was offered to somebody whose name he got from ill-informed sources as Nanda, but whose real name was Nandivardhana or Nandavardhana, and this Nandi-(—a—)-vardhana has been confounded with Nanda Mahāpadma whom Hemacandra brands as the son of a courtesan by a barber. The Purāṇas also omit or forget the weaklings Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga-Dāsa, and

¹ MV. IV, 3-7.

² Sthav. Car. VI, 242.

call the successor of Udāyin by the name Nandivardhana. The throne of Magadha was offered to him by the citizens of Pāṭaliputra, after the weak and unimportant successors of Udāyin; and this has been imperfectly remembered by Hemacandra who has, on account of the similarity of names, not only confounded Nandi-(a)-vardhana with Nanda (=Mahāpadma), but has practically supported the wrong tradition that Nanda (= Mahāpadma) ruled for about a hundred years (95 years according to the Śthavirāvalicarita). Thus it appears that the word Śiśunāga was a title of Nandi-(a)-vardhana, so that his full name was Nandi-(a)-vardhana Śiśunāga.

According to the Mahāvamśa, Śiśunāga reigned for 18 years, but the Purāṇas state that he ruled for 40 years. He may be assumed to have been the governor of Magdha for the previous 22 years (=40—18). He transferred his capital to Vaiśālī.¹ The fact that Śiśunāga had his capital at Vaiśālī and not at Pāṭaliputra, seems to be one of the reasons for which the ill-informed Purāṇists of a far later period have been tempted to carry Śiśunāga and Kākavarṇa to the top of the list above Bimbisāra, as they knew that Udāyin transferred his capital to Pāṭaliputra.

The Matsya explicitly states that Śiśunāga (=Suśunāga of the Mahāvamśa) destroyed the prestige of the Pradyōtas, and occupied Giribraja after placing his son Kākavarṇa at Vārāṇasī.² Now Avanti(-Nandi-)vardhana, the son of Pālaka, and Viśākhayūpa being the last kings of the dynasty, as mentioned in the Purāṇas, it must have been their fame (as well as that of the other members of the family)

¹ Bigandet, *Life or Legend of Buddha*, II, 115; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 37.

² हला नेवा यमः कुलं विपुलाकी भविष्यति । &c.,

नारायणी हतं स्यात् भविष्यति विदितव्यम् ॥ Mt. 272, 6.

cf. also Bḍ. III, 74, 127-8. and Va. 99, 314; 315.

which was destroyed by Śisunāga, and the Purāṇas evidently mean to push home this fact by mentioning Śisunāga after Avantivardhana, the last Pradyōta king. Hence Śisunāga and Kākavarṇa cannot be carried to the top of the list as they have been in the Purāṇas. Mr. Jayswal has distorted the real meaning of the first line of the verse quoted below by translating it as "a Śisunāka having completely destroyed their fame" (J. B. O. R. S. 1915, Sept. p. 108). But why 'a Śisunāka' in the face of the explicit mention of Śisunāka and then of his son Kākavarṇa in the next lines. Mr. Jayswal has identified the Magadha king Nandivardhana, the Purāṇic successor of Udāyin, with Nandivardhana, the successor of Ajaka (= Āryaka, the son of Gōpāla) of the Pradyōta dynasty. He has interpreted 'Vardhana' in the name 'Nandivardhana' as 'the Increaser' i.e. 'the Increaser of the Empire of Magadha' and has hazarded the conjecture that Nandivardhana added Avantī to his empire at the 10th year of his reign. (J. B. O. R. S. 1915, Sept. p. 78). Now mark in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, the line which runs as वृद्धद्वेष्यतोलेषु वीतिहोलेषु वर्त्तिषु. The corresponding line in the Matsya¹ runs as वृद्धद्वेष्य-तोलेषु वीतिहोलेष्ववन्तिषु. It is evident that वृ-वर्त्तिषु at the end of the line quoted from the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa is the corrupt form of अवन्तिषु as preserved in the Matsya. Now mark the Vāyu form (अ)-वर्त्तिवर्द्धन² for the name of the successor of Ajaka of the Pradyōta dynasty. It is at once clear that (अ)-वर्त्ति वर्द्धन of the Vāyu is the corruption of the correct name अवन्तिवर्द्धन.

Thus it is evident that the Vāyu chooses to call the Pradyōta king, Nandivardhana, by the name Avantivardhana. If 'Vardhana' is supposed to mean the Increaser of Empire, as Mr. Jayswal has made it mean, then it may be argued that, this Avantivardhana was the Increaser, not of the Magadhan Empire, but of the Empire of Avantī, and

¹ Mt. 273, 1.

² तत्पुत्रोऽवर्त्तिवर्द्धनः ॥ Va. 99, 313.

has, for this reason, been named Avantivardhana in the Vāyu.

The son of Śiśunāga has been called Kālāsōka in the Mahāvamśa. The Divyāvadāna calls him Kākavarṇin.² The very names Śiśunāga of the Mahāvamśa and Kākavarṇin of the Divyāvadāna indicate that they are undoubtedly the Purāṇic Śiśunāga and Kākavarṇa; and the Purāṇas are clearly wrong in carrying Śiśunāga and Kākavarṇa to the top of the list because in that case the fame of the last Pradyōta kings could not have been destroyed by Śiśunāga, as it actually was, according to the Purāṇas themselves. When this synchronism between Avantivardhana, the successor of Ajaka of the Pradyōta dynasty, and Śiśunāga of Magadha has been first declared by the Vāyu, the Brahmanḍa and the Matsya etc., when it is further followed up by the Mahāvamśa which relates that the 'amātya' Śiśunāga was offered the throne of Magadha by the citizens, and when it is further found in the Divyāvadāna that Kākavarṇin was a successor of Muṇḍa, there should be no doubt that Śiśunāga and Kākavarṇa are there in the list after Nūga-Dāsaka; and that Mr. Jayaswal would have been more sober had he not assumed that the Pradyōta chronology has been thrown in the Śiśunāga chronology parenthetically (J. B. O. R. S. 1915 Sept. Page 76) and had he not tried to identify Kālāsōka with Nandivardhana on his wrongly assumed synchronism deduced on the confused order of succession in the Purāṇas. It is not necessary to try to identify this Kākavarṇa Śiśunāgi with Nandivardhana, the successor of Udāyin, as Mr. Jayaswal has done (J. B. O. R. S. 1915, page 77). Because there is an 'i' at the end of the name (Kākavarṇi) in the Divyāvadāna, Mr. Jayaswal gratuitously assumes that the original authorities of the Divyāvadāna seem to have called

² राजद्वि नगरे दिविहारी राजा राजे कारयति । राजो दिविहारेण अजातशत्रु
 वृषः । अजातशत्रुवृषावै । वदयिष्येति मुण्डः । मुण्डस्य नाकवर्णः ॥ Cowell's
 Divyavadana XXVI, p. 369.

him Darśaka, the Kākavarṇi, i.e. a descendant of Kākavarṇa (J. B. O. R. S. 1915 Sept. page 85) to suit his desperate identification of the Purāṇic Darśaka with Kākavarṇi of the Divyāvadāna, (J. B. O. R. S. 1915 Sept. page 85). Thus Mr. Jayaswal proposes that Kālāśōka, was the same as Nandivardhana as well as Darśaka. It comes to this then that one and the same man had the four different names :—Darśaka, Kākavarṇi, Kālāśōka and Nandivardhana. Is it not too much? Kākavarṇi means 'one who has the colour of a crow' (काकस्य वर्णं यस्मिन् अस्ति अथ इत्यर्थे णिनि) and Kakavarṇa means one whose colour is like that of a crow (काकस्य वर्ण इव वर्णं यस्य सः), and it is only superfluous to state that these two mean the same person. The argument of Mr. Jayaswal that because 'Kāma' and 'Caṇḍāla' in 'Kāmāśōka, and 'Caṇḍālāśōka' have been used in the moral sense therefore 'Kala' in 'Kālāśōka' should also have been used in that sense¹—need not be taken too seriously. Instances are not rare in history, in which adjectives have also been used in the physical sense. The Black Prince, Richard Crookback, William Rufus, Tamar-lane (=the lame Timur), Ajataśatru Kāpika (=the crookedarmed Ajataśatru) etc. are the typical instances.

According to the Mahāvamśa, at the end of the 10th year of Kālāśōka's reign, a century passed after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha.² The exactness of calculation of the eloquent Mahāvamśa followed up by other Sacred Buddhist Texts can leave little room for doubting the correctness of its history. It was at the end of this year that the second Buddhist congress was held. Now mark here that Thāranāth states that 'Yasa held a Congress of 700 bhikkhus at the Kusumpuri Vihāra in Vaiśālī under the patronage of the king Nandin.'³ Notice also in the Mahāvamśa that the

¹ J. B. O. R. S. 1915, Sept. p. 85.

² MV. IV, 8.

³ Schiefner, p. 41. (Mr. Jayswal's Paper J. B. O. R. S. 1915 Sept. p. 78a.)

thera Yasa, was one of the chief theras in the Congress held in the Vālikārāma in Veśālī being protected by the king Kālāsōka, and under the leadership of the thera Revata¹ who chose 700 out of that troop of Bhiksus.² The name of Yasa and the number 700 are also attested by the Divyāvadāna.³ The Cullavagga⁴ calls him Yasa Kākaṇḍakaputta. The Mahāvagga⁵ calls him Yasa kulaputta. The name Yasa Kākaṇḍakaputta, the thera Revata and the number 700 are mentioned also in the Mahābodhiyaṃśa (p. 96,) in connection with the council held at Vālukārāma in Veśālī.

It is at once evident then that this is the Second Buddhist Congress that was held at Vaiśālī when Mahā-Nandi (=the great Nandi=Nandin of Tārānāth) was reigning at Puspapura. The same king has been called Kālāsōka in the Mahāvaṃśa and Kākavarṇa in the Divyāvadāna. In fact the word 'Asōka' means 'joy' or 'gladness' and is an equivalent of 'Nandi.' He was most probably of dark complexion, and was accordingly surnamed Kāla or Kākavarṇa, so that his full name was Kāla Asōka or Kākavarṇa Mahānandi.

It comes to this then that the great Nandi of Tārānāth (=Mahā-Nandi of the Purāṇas) was the same as Kālāsōka or Kākavarṇa. Bāṇa informs us that Kākavarṇa, the son of Śiśunāga, was taken somewhere in an artificial aerial car and was murdered in the vicinity of his city with a dagger thrust into his throat.⁶ According to the Mahāvaṃśa he reigned for 28 years.⁷ The figures of the Purāṇas which are ill-informed and mutually contradictory may be safely rejected.

Kākavarṇa had ten sons who, according to the Mahā-

¹ MV. IV, 63.

² MV. IV, 61; 62.

³ Div. p. 381; the Divyāvadāna confuses Kālāsōka with Asōka Maurya.

⁴ Cullavagga XII, 1, 1 et seq.; 2, 1 et seq.

⁵ Mahāvagga I, 7, 1-15.

⁶ Haracarita V.

⁷ Mv. IV, 8.

vaṃśa¹ together ruled for 22 years. Thier names are : Bhadrāsena, Korandavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarbañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Korabya, Nandivardhana, and Pañcamaka —(Mahābōdhivaṃśa p. 98). Amongst the sons of Kākavarṇa, one was named Nandivardhana, but he need not be identified with the Purāṇic Nandivardhana as suggested by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar². The reason will be clearer as we proceed. After these ten kings, the nine Nandas reigned for 22 years according to the Mahāvamśa.³ Their names, according to the Mahābōdhivaṃśa, (p. 98,) were : Ugrasena, Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāṣṭrapāla, Gōviṣāpaka, Dasa-siddhaka, Kevaṭṭa and Dhana.

The Purāṇas inform us that Mahāpadma who had eight sons, was the son of Mahānandī by a Śūdra woman, and exterminated the Kṣattriyas like a second Paraśurāma.⁴ This Mahāpadma and his eight sons, one of whom was, according to the Hindu tradition, known by the name Sumāl̥ya (or Sukalpa) were well-known as the nine Nandas, while we have just now seen that the first Nanda is named Ugrasena in the Mahābōdhivaṃśa. Hence Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar seems to be reasonable in identifying Mahāpadma with Ugrasena. The Sthavirāvalīcarita brands him as the son of a courtesan by a barber. But it is difficult to believe how the throne of Magadha could be offered to a man in the street and of such a low origin by the ministers, officials and citizens of Pāṭalīputra. The mistake has really been due to the similarity of the names Nandivardhana and Nanda. The throne, as we have seen was offered to Nandivardhana (=Śīśunāga), while Mahāpadma Nanda, had he been the son of a courtesan by a barber as Hemacandra describes him to have been, could have the throne if he could usurp it, and this is exactly what the Greek account says of

¹ MV. V, 14.² Car. Loc. p. 83.³ MV. V, 15.⁴ Va. IV, 24, 4 ; Va. 99, 329 ; Mt. 272, 19.

him. The last Nanda who was reigning at the time of Alexander's invasion was named as nearly Agrammes or Xandrammes as the Greeks could catch the unfamiliar Indian sounds. Curtius says "His father (*i.e.* Agrammes' or Xandrammes' father, *e.* the first Nanda *i.e.* Mahāpadma Nanda) was, in fact, a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was, by her influence, advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards however he treacherously murdered his sovereign; and then under the pretence of acting as the guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death beget the present king."

Mahāpadma thus was, according to the contemporary Greek writers, a barber in fact, and according to the Jaina tradition, the son of a courtesan by a barber, while the Purāṇs say that he was the son of Mahānandī (= Kākavarṇa) by a Śūdra woman. The Hindu account fits in well with the Greek account if this Śūdra concubine of Mahānandī-Kākavarṇa be supposed to have been a woman of the barber class, for then also the caste of Mahāpadma would be the barber caste, according to the ancient Indian laws of castes. It is not also improbable that a campaign of calumny was started by the Brāhmanas and the Kṣattriyas to rouse popular feelings against the Nandas, especially for the reason that Mahāpadma uprooted all the reigning Kṣattriya dynasties with the help of his minister Kalpaka, and the Jaina account of the origin of Mahāpadma Nanda is probably a reminiscence of this calumny.

The sovereign murdered by Agrammes' father (*i.e.* by Nanda Mahāpadma) in the Greek account was evidently Kākavarṇa-Mahānandī who, according to Bīṇa, as we have already seen, was murdered in the vicinity of his city with a dagger thrust into his throat. The chronology of the Vāyu

agrees remarkably with the chronology of the Mahāvamśa. The Mahāvamśa allots 22 years to the sons of Kālāśōka (= Kākavarṇa-Mahānandi) and 22 years to the nine Nandaa, so that according to the Mahāvamśa, 44 years elapsed between the death of Kālāśōka-Kākavarṇa-Mahānandi and the accession of Candragupta Maurya. Most manuscripts of the Vāyu state that Mahāpadma ruled for 28 years and Kauṭilya took 16 years to uproot the sons of Mahāpadma, so that according to the Vāyu also, the same period of 44 years elapsed between the same two incidents; and it appears from the nature of the accounts of the various sources at our disposal that Mahāpadma really ruled in the name of the ten sons of Kākavarṇa-Mahānandi and then murdered them.

It is not difficult now to see how the essentially wrong tradition that the Nandas ruled for about a hundred years originated. We have already seen that Kākavarṇa-Mahānandi's father was Śiśunāga-Nandivardhana. It was the confusion between the personal name Nandivardhana (whose title was Śiśunāga) and the title Nanda (of Mahāpadma) that was responsible for the origin of the wrong tradition. According to the Sthavirāvalīcarita which omits or forgets the unimportant weaklings Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāga-dāsa, Udāyin's successor Nanda (= Nandivardhana Śiśunāga) was offered the throne of Magadha 95 years before the accession of Candragupta, while according to the Mahāvamśa, Śuśunāga (= Śiśunāga-Nandivardhana) was offered the throne 90 years before the accession of Candragupta. Thus the Purāṇists knew that the Nandas were the predecessors of the Mauryas, and that Udāyin's successor Nandivardhana, erroneously taken as the first Nanda as in the Sthavirāvalīcarita, was offered the throne of Magadha about a hundred years before the accession of Candragupta. Thus the wrong tradition of the Viṣṇu and the Matsya originated out of a confusion between two similar sounding names. That it is substantially wrong is proved by the allotment in the Vāyu

of 28 years to Nanda Mahāpadma and 16 years to his sons, and this is in exact agreement with the chronology of the Mahāvamśa, enlightened with the Greek account that Mahāpadma really ruled as a guardian in the name of the sons of Kākavarṇa-Mahānandī (= Kālāsōka). Accordingly, as attested by the Vāyu and the Mahāvamśa, it is clear that Mahāpadma Nanda and his sons together ruled for 44 years after which Agrammes or Xandrammes or Dhana Nanda, i.e. the last reigning Nanda king was uprooted by Cāpakya in a war in which Bhadrāsāla was the Commander-in-Chief of the Nanda army and in which the carnage was really terrible.¹

The following table shows the chronology of the three available sources.

Purāṇic figures.	Mahāvamśa figures.	Figures derived the Schaivā Vajrasūtra
Bimbisāra 28 years (Vā, Mt.)	Bimbisāra 52 years (MV)	Śreṇika
Darśaka 24 years (Mt.)		
Ajātaśatru 26 years (Vā, Bd.)	Ajātaśatru 32 years (MV)	Kūṣika
Udayin 23 years (Vā, Mt, Bd.)	Udayin 16 years (MV)	Udayin
	Anuruddha } 8 years (MV)	
	Māgga }	
	Nāga-Dāsaka 24 years (MV)	
Nandivardhana 40 years (Mt, Bd') 42 years (Vā).	Śubhānaga 18 years (MV)	Nanda and his descendants 95 years.
Mahā-Nandi 43 years (Vā, Mt, Bd.)	Kālāsōka 28 years (MV)	
Mahā-Padma 26 years (Vā), 88 years (Mt)	Ten Sons 22 years (MV)	
Sumālita &c. 16 years (Vā), 12 years (Mt)	Nine Nandas 22 years (MV)	

¹ Milinda Pañho S. E. E. Vol. XXXVI, pp. 147-48.

Viśvajit		Vasudāman	
Punika	Ripuñjaya	Bimbisāra	Mahākōśala
Pradyōta	Ajātasatru	Prasenajit	Udayana
Pālaka	Udāyin	Viśudabha-Kṣudraka	Bahubara—Narabābana- Bōdhi
	Anuruddha Munda	Kṣulika-Kulaka	Da(-Kha—)vḍapāṇi
	Nāgadisa	Suratha	Nira(ā-)mitra
	Sisunāga- Nandivardhana	Sumitra	Kṣemaka
	Kākavarṇa-Mahānandi		
	Mahāpadma Nanda (Ten- sons of Mahānandi)		

The above table shows the contemporary kings of different dynasties of this period. It indicates that the descendants of Kṣemaka and Sumitra were uprooted by Mahāpadma Nanda who also murdered the ten sons of Kākavarṇa-Mahānandi.

One interesting fact cannot but draw our notice. When we look to the names Bimbisāra Śreṇika (Bimbisāra, the soldier), Ajātaśatru Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru, the crooked-armed), Udāyin Ajaya (Udāyin, the Invincible), Nandivardhana Śiśunāga (Nandivardhana, the little Nāga), Mahā-Nandi Kākavarṇa (Mahā-Nandi, the Black) Mahāpadma Nanda Ugrasena (Mahapadma Nanda, the possessor of a Terrific Army), Caṇḍa Pradyōta Mahāsena (Fierce Pradyōta, the possessor of a Great Army) Nandivardhana Avantivardhana (Nandivardhana, the Increaser of Avanti), we are inclined to think that famous kings in those days usually had surnames.

Mr. Bhandarkar has unfortunately accused the Purāṇas of having made desperate attempts to fill up the gaps of the period by inventing names such as Nandivardhana, Mahā-Nandi etc. Now nowhere, whether in the Vedic age or in the historical age, have the Purāṇas exhibited any tendency to deceive us with invented names. They have faithfully preserved all the traditions they could collect about the dynasties related in them. The copyists and the changes of script were responsible for the corruptions that have crept into them. They erroneously placed Bhādrvala at the fourteenth step below Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya, but they have also supplied us with the very important synchronism that Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya was the disciple of the great grandson of Jaimini, and that Yājñavalkya learnt the science of Yōga from Hiraṇyanābha. They have wrongly carried up Śiśunāga, Kākavarṇa and his sons, to the top of the list above Bimbisāra, but they have also supplied us with the most interesting synchronism that Śiśunāga, after destroying the prestige of the last Pradyōtas, occupied Girībraja. The mere mention of the name of a king in the Purāṇas raises a strong presumption for the existence of such a king, and none is entitled to suspect it till the contrary can be proved.

The fact that Śiśunāga had his capital at Vaiśālī seems to be one of the reasons for which the ill-informed Purāṇists of the early Gupta period have carried Śiśunāga, Kāka-varṇa etc. to the top of the list above Bimbisāra, as they knew that Udāyin transferred his capital to Pāṭalīputra in the fourth year of his reign. Or it may as well be that the same old Puranic confusion of tacking the first king of a line intended to be described, on to the last king of the line just described, has taken place. It can not however, mislead us, as we have exposed similar other instances of the confusion with regard to dynasties of the Vedic Age. But the Puranists were sure of this that the fame of the last Pradyōtas was destroyed by Śiśunāga.



CHAPTER XXI.

(For the Date of the Mahābhārata War.)

PRADYŌTA DYNASTY.

We know that the last Bārhadratha king Ripuñjaya was murdered by his minister Punika who installed his son Pradyōta as the king of Avantī.¹ Pradyōta ruled for 23 years.² His eldest son Gōpāla abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother Pālaka³ and used to live in Kauśāmbī with his affectionate sister Vāsavadattā⁴. After Udayana's death, Gōpāla went to the hermitage of a certain Kāśyapa in Asitagiri and lived the life of a recluse⁵. Pālaka ruled for 24 years⁶ in Ujjein. He imprisoned Ajaka (=Āryaka) the son⁷ of his elder brother Gōpāla, and was for this reason ousted by Śarvilaka who managed to raise a rebellion and to establish Ajaka on the throne of Avantī⁸. Pālaka was thus succeeded by Ajaka, the son of Gōpāla. Ajaka ruled for 21 years according to the Matsya⁹ and was succeeded by Nandivardhana (=Avantivardhana.) According to the Vāyu, Ajaka ruled for 31 years and his successor Avantivardhana ruled for 20 years.¹⁰ Be that as it may, the total reign period of Ajaka and his successor was one of 51 years according to both the Vāyu and the Matsya. Now the Purānic statement that Avantivardhana—Nandivardhana was the son¹¹ of Ajaka cannot be accepted. In the Kathāsaritsāgara¹² we find that once during the reign

¹ Mt. 272, 1.

² Va. 99, 311; Mt. 272, 3.

³ Kat-sar-sag. 111, 62; 63.

⁴ Kat-sar-sag. 111, 60; 61.

⁵ Kat-sar-sag. 111, 93.

⁶ Va. 99, 312; Bd. 111, 74, 125.

⁷ Mrech. X, 51; Mrech. IV, 24.

⁸ Mrech. X, 46.

⁹ Mt. 272, 4.

¹⁰ Va. 99, 313.

¹¹ Va. 99, 313; Mt. 272, 4; 5; Bd. 111, 74, 125.

¹² Kat-sar-sag. 112, 62; 63; 64 &c.

of Pālaka, an elephant got out of control and killed many citizens in the streets of Ujjayinī. No one was able to control the furious animal which was afterwards pacified by a beautiful girl to the astonishment of all. This girl was the daughter of a Candāla named Matāṅga and was named Suratamañjarī. Her mother's name was Aśūkamañjarī.

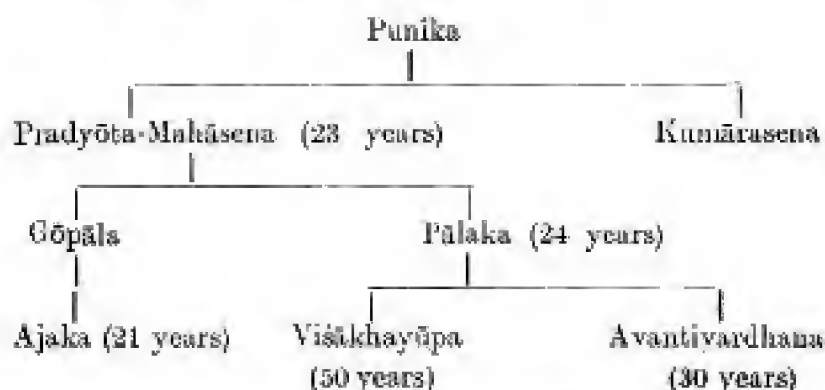
The Prince Avantivardhana, the son of the king Pālaka, hearing this astonishing news, came out to see the girl and became enamoured of her. King Pālaka and queen Avantivatī became apprised of their son's intentions to marry the beautiful girl, but hesitated because of her low caste. The queen was not for such a marriage, as she was naturally desirous of high connections, but the king Pālaka easily induced her to give her consent to such a marriage. Accordingly the Candāla Matāṅga (also known as Utpalabasta) was sent for and came to the court. King Pālaka asked him to give his daughter in marriage to the Prince Avantivardhana, to which the poor Candāla readily acceded, but on condition that eighteen thousand Brāhmanas were to be sumptuously fed on the occasion at his house. Accordingly the marriage was celebrated with great pomp.

At dead of night on a certain day after the marriage, a man named Ityaka, of mixed caste, stealthily managed to carry Suratamañjarī away out of Ujjayinī, while she was asleep. After a time she awoke and saw that she was being stolen away by a man. She began to cry aloud for help, but no one came to her rescue. Now it so happened that Ityaka chose to carry her along the path that led to Asitagiri where Naravāhana (= Vahīnara = Bōdhi), the son of Udayana, the late king of Kauśambī, was passing his time with his maternal uncle Gōpāla. The Commander-in-chief of Naravāhana, recognizing the pitiful cry of a woman, at once ran towards them and caught Ityaka. Being asked as to why he was carrying the girl away, Ityaka replied that her hand had been promised to him by her mother, while Suratamañ-

jarī told them that she was the wife of the Prince Avantivardhana the son of Pālaka, the king of Ujjayinī. Gōpāla then asked his nephew Naravāhana (= Vahīnara) to send for the Prince Avantivardhana and the minister Bharatarōha of the House of Ujjayinī. A messenger was at once despatched to Ujjayinī where, in the meantime, all were in sadness for the sudden disappearance of the Princess. The messenger related the whole story about the Princess to King Pālaka who was exceedingly glad to have the news of his lost daughter-in-law, but became furious against the claimant Ityaka. The Prince Avantivardhana and the minister Bharatarōha were at once sent with the messenger to Asitagiri (lit. the Black Hill—the Śuṃśumāra Hill ?) where Naravāhana, (= Vahīnara) the king of Kauśāmbī was present with his maternal uncle Gōpāla to decide the dispute. It afterwards transpired that Ityaka was the brother-in-law (wife's brother) of the king Vahīnara (= Naravāhana) who however with his court-pandits decided that a mother had no right to give her daughter in marriage and that Śuratamañjarī belonged to Avantivardhana, the son of his (Naravāhana's) maternal uncle Pālaka. Ityaka was allowed to go away un molested; and the Prince Avantivardhana and his wife Śuratamañjarī were sent back to Ujjayinī together with the minister Bharatarōha. These details given in the Kathāsaritsāgara about the Prince Avantivardhana and his wife Śuratamañjarī seem to be based on a substratum of truth, although it is, like many old accounts, mixed up with romance. The Vāyu is wrong when it calls Avantivardhana the son of Ajaka whose successor he (Avantivardhana) really was. His real name was Avantivardhana as is expressly stated in the Kathā-saritsāgara¹, and the Vāyu has used this name, while the Matsya and the Brahmāṇḍa call him Nandivardhana probably wrongly.

¹ सुतामा नन्दिवर्धनः, ii Kat-sar-sag. 112, 13.

The Pradyōta genealogy stands thus :



Viśākhayūpa was another son of Pālaka as expressly implied in the Purāṇas. After his father was deposed, he probably established a principality in some adjacent district, as was the custom in those days, and ruled for 50 years according to the Vāyu. His brother Avantivardhana however succeeded Ajaka to the throne of Avantī and ruled for 30 years after which his fame as well as that of Viśākhayūpa and others was destroyed by Śiśunāga. Notice here that the reigns of Avantivardhana and Viśākhayūpa close about the same year.

Ajaka 21 years	| Total 51 years |	Viśākhayūpa
Avantivardhana 30 years.		50 years.

Kumārasena was the younger brother of Mahāsena and not his son, as Mr. Jayswal has erroneously supposed him to have been (J. B. O. R. S. 1915, Sept. Page 106). He was killed when he tried to put a stop to the practice of selling human flesh on the occasion of the feast of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī by the human Vampire (= Vetāla) named Tālajaṅgha.¹ Kumārasena has been spoken of as

¹ बह्मकावचमदीक्षते च बह्मसाधनविक्रयभाक्षशतृष्वेवेनादत्ताकजह्नी जघान जघनजं
मदीक्षत रोमिकं कुमारं कुमारसेनम् ॥ Harṣacarita VI ch. Vide also my
paper on the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa. Sir A. T. Mookerjee Commem-
oration Volume.

जघन्यज प्रद्योतस्य and also as पौनिक. जघन्यज simply means यवराज, यनुज, कनिष्ठ भ्राता, a younger brother; and पौनिक means Punika's son. Mr. Jayswal has been further misled as to the meaning of गोपाल-दारक by which Āryaka has been called in the *Mṛcchakatika* (IV, 24+). गोपालदारक simply means the son of Gōpāla. But Mr. Jayswal misinterprets it as the 'boy-Gōpāla.' How Gōpāla could still remain a boy after his younger brother Pālaka had reigned for 24 years (28 years according to Mr. Jayswal) has not been explained by Mr. Jayswal. Gōpāla, as related in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (II, 62; 63) abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother Pālaka, and remained at Kauśāmbī with his sister Vāsavadattā, and after the death of Udayana, went to Asitagiri and lived the life of a recluse. He did not ascend the throne as Āryaka as has been wrongly supposed by Mr. Jayswal. After all, Ajaka (=Āryaka) was the son of Gōpāla. The Puranic traditional total of the reign-periods of these kings has very little value, because they were calculated on a chaotic order of succession of kings, and because no single Purāṇa would agree with another, and thirdly because the details do not agree with the total, and fourthly because they were done at a later time i. e. in the early Gupta period by Puranists who had no sufficient materials with them. Hence credible external evidences must be brought in to correct the Purāṇas which however must be made the basis for settling the chronology.

Now we can get the date of accession of Candā Pradyōta from the Puranic data. According to the *Mahāvamśa*, Śiśunāga became the ruler of Magadha 80 years after the accession of Ajātaśatru. He destroyed the fame of the last Pradyōta kings Avantivardhana and Viśākhayūpa, most probably in a campaign, and then securely placed his son Kākavarṇa at Vārāṇasī and then took over the charge of the government of Magadha. Hence Śiśunāga may be reasonably supposed to have ousted the Pradyōtas

80 years after the accession of Ajātaśatru. Avantivardhana was ousted when he was ruling for 30 years. Before Avantivardhana, Ajaka ruled for 21 years and Pālaka for 24 years. Hence Pālaka ascended the throne of Ujjayinī 75 years ($=24+21+30$) before Avantivardhana was ousted by Śiśunāga.

It necessarily follows that the last 5 years of the reign of Candā Pradyōta coalesced with the first 5 years of the reign of Ajātaśatru. It was probably on account of the death of Candā Pradyōta towards the earlier parts of the reign of Ajātaśatru that the invasion of Magadha by Candā Pradyōta referred to in the Majjhima Nikāya could not be made.



CHAPTER XXII.

(For the Date of the Mahābhārata War.)

IMPORTANT DATES

(1) Let us consider the Buddhist traditions.

(a) The substantially correct* statements in the *Dipavaṃśa*¹ and the *Mahāvamśa*² that Aśoka was formally crowned 218 years after the death of Buddha. This virtually reduces to the fact that Candragupta ascended the throne 162 (=218—24—28—4) years after the death of Buddha.

(b) The dotted record of Canton gives us 975 dots, the last of which was put in 489 A. D. This gives us 486 B. C. as the first year after the death of Buddha. Hence Buddha died in 487 B. C. according to the dotted record. This gives us 325 B. C. (=487—162) as the accession of Candragupta.

(c) Epigraphic Evidence:—

In the 13th Rock-Edict, Aśoka speaks of the Yōna King Āntiyōka (Antiochos II Theos, King of Syria, 261—246 B. C.), and the four kings beyond his realm, Turamaya (Ptolemaios II of Egypt, d. 247 B. C.), Āntikina (Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia, d. 239 B. C.) Maka (Magas of Cyrene, d. 258 B. C.) and Alikā Sudara (Alexander of Epirus d. about 258 B. C.) as alive. The Rock Edicts, and consequently the Rock Edict XIII, were published on the 12th year after the coronation of Aśoka. Hence was Aśoka was

* I am unable to agree with Dr. Charpentier (*Ind. Ant.* 1914 Aug.) in discrediting this tradition.

¹ ई सत्तानि च वसुसनि अट्ठारस वसुसनि च ।

सत्तुह परिनिर्द्धने अभिहितो पिण्डवसुसो ॥ *Dip.* VI, 1.

² जिन निवृत्तावलो यत्का इरा तसुवाविसेवली ।

सट्ठारस वसुससत्तवसेव विजानिद ॥ *MV.* V, 21.

crowned either in 269 B. C. ($=258+11$) or in 271 B. C. ($=260+11$). Aśoka was crowned in the fourth year after his accession. Hence Aśoka's accession may be dated at about 273 B. C. or 275 B. C. Adding to this the reign periods ($28+24$) of Bindusāra and Candragupta, we arrive at 325 B. C. or 327 B. C. as the date of accession of Candragupta [$(273+28+24=325)$ or $(275+28+24=327)$]

We safely reject the upper limit and adopt 325 B. C. as the more probable date for the accession of Candragupta.

(d) Vijaya reigned for 38 years and died in Udayin's 14th year. After an interregnum of 1 year Pāṇḍuvāsa was anointed king in the 16th year of Udayin's reign. Pāṇḍuvāsa reigned for 30 years and died in Nāgadāsa's 21st year. After Pāṇḍuvāsa, Abhaya reigned for 20 years. After an interregnum of 17 years, Pakudaka reigned for 70 years and died in the 14th year of Candragupta. Then Mutaśiva reigned for 60 years and died 17 years after coronation of Aśoka. Thus we have a period of 235 years ($=38+1+30+20+17+70+60$) between the accession of Vijaya and the 17th year after the coronation of Aśoka. Now the epigraphic evidence deduced from the publication of the 13th Rock Edict on the 12th after the coronation year of Aśoka i. e., on about 258 B. C. gives us 269 B. C. as the year of coronation of Aśoka. Hence Mutaśiva who died 17 years after the coronation of Aśoka, did so in 252 B. C. ($=269-17$). Accordingly Vijaya landed in Ceylone or Buddha died in 487 B. C. ($=252+235$). Thus we see that if we take our strting point from the epigraphic date of publication of the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka and calculate backwards from the date collected from the Mahāvamśa, the Ceylonese Chronicle, we arrive at 487 B. C. for the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, which is exactly the date obtained by counting the number of dots in the dotted record of Canton preserved by the Chinese school of Buddhists.

Now as Mutaśiva reigned for 60 years from the 14th year

of Candragupta to the end of the 17th year after the coronation of Aśoka, the accession of Candragupta is at once dated at 325 B. C. (=252+60+13).

(2) Now we shall consider the Jaina traditions :—

(a) The 148th Sūtra of Book VI of the Kalpa-Sūtra gives us the period between the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and the writing &c. of the book¹. Some say that this Sūtra was written by Śrī Devardhiganin for giving us the date of the putting of the Kalpasūtra in writing, and its explanation is that 980 years after the death of Mahāvīra, the Siddhānta as well as the Kalpa were written in books, because there is a verse² pointing to this. Others say that this verse is for giving us the date of the public recitation of the Kalpa-Sūtra before the king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura to console him for the death of his son and that this public recitation took place 980 years after the death of Mahāvīra, because there is a verse³ pointing to this. Scholars belonging to this second group, when asked about the meaning of वाच्यं तरे पुण्णं जयं तेषु चरं reply that the period is 993 years in another recension. A third set of scholars say that the Kalpa was written in 980 A. V. and that the public recitation took place in 993 A. V. because Śrī-Sundara Sūri has decided thus.⁴ Vinayavijayaganin who finished his Subōdhikā commentary

१. समस्यस्य भगवतो महावीरस्य ज्ञानं बलदुर्लभं पदोपेतं सवसाससमाहं विदुषां तादृ-
हस्यस्य स वासस्यस्य सप्त सप्तौदये स वचनं काले सञ्चरं वाच्यं तरे पुण्णं जयं तेषु चरं
स वचनं काले सञ्चरं इति दीपदः ॥ Kalpa Sūtra VI, 148.

२. बलदो दुर्लभं पि सचरे,

३. लभस्य वाच्यं तरे --

देवदुःखं सुखस्य च चरेत् ।

वीरात् विनाशजायमानम्

दुर्लभं वाच्यं लिख्यते,

स वासस्य सञ्चरं,

लभस्य सप्तौदयो (९८०) वीरायो ॥

वाच्यं वाच्यं विदुः ॥

४. वीरात् विनाशक - (९८२) - वाच्योक्तम्,

तस्मात्तु लभस्य भूयति ।

यस्मिन् सञ्चरं सञ्चरं सञ्चरं --

वाच्यं लभस्य सञ्चरं सञ्चरं ॥ Sūtra-satna-kōṣa.

on the Kalpasūtra in about 1629 A. C.¹ says that a public recitation of the Kalpasūtra was begun in the court of the king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura to console him for the death of his son 980 years or, according to another opinion, 993 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.² Thus it is evident that the commentators differ as to the meaning of **वाचनं करे**. Some hold that it means 'in another recension' (**मतान्तरे**), while according to others it has the meaning 'after the public recitation' (**वाचनान्तरे**). According to the latter, the public recitation took place 13 years after the Siddhānta was written in books, and at this time Dhruvasena was the king of Ānandapura. It is evident then that the latter agrees with the second alternative admitted by the former. Now we have it from Dr. Jarl Charpentier that Dhruvasena I was the king of Ānandapura in 526 A. C. He had no issue, and was succeeded by his brother Guhasena in 540 A. C. As Dr. Charpentier has already shown, 993 years before 526 A. C. places us at 467 B. C. (993—526). This is Jacobi's date.

The Svētāmbara Jainas in their Paṭṭāvalis and other works place the death of Sambhūtavijaya 156 years after the death of Mahāvīra. It is also in the Jaina traditions that Sambhūtavijaya died in the same year in which Candragupta ascended the throne. We have seen before that Hemacandra has placed the accession of Candragupta 155 years after the Vira-Nirvāṇa. Hence Hemachandra has followed the traditions which he considered to be the best,

¹ **इत्यदिभिरस्यप्रतिषेधं नो ह्येवास्मिन् समुज्ज्वले वदे ।**

दुर्दृश्यं दृष्ट्वाऽहं सफलं जज्ञं दिदौषायात् ॥

It means 1626 Samvat or 1629 A. C. (=1686—57). Dr. Hermann Jacobi is clearly wrong here in putting 1616 Samvat as the date of the *Suhṛdhikā*.

² **चौदोदयिर्वाचादुदोदयिकान्दसत्तवर्षातिक्रम्ये मत्तान्तरेण निश्चयितव्यमसत्तवर्षादि-
कमे मुनीनमुषस्य प्रथमवर्षात्तस्य सत्तवर्षाभागात्तान्दुष्टरे सत्तवर्षात्त सत्तवर्षात्त सत्तवर्षात्त सत्तवर्षात्त
वाचनान्तरेण ॥**

in placing Candragupta's accession in 155 A. V. Now the memorial verses which form the basis of Merutuṅga's *Vicāraśrenī* place the accession of Candragupta 255 years ($=108+30+60+40+13+4$) before Vikrama. This places the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* at about 410 years ($255+155$) before Vikrama. Hence according to these Jaina traditions Candragupta's accession is dated at 312 B. C. ($=255+57$), and the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* at 467 B. C. ($=312+155$). This agrees with the date of the death of Mahāvira obtained before from considerations of the 148th verse of the sixth book of the *Kalpasūtra*. It is certain that Devardhiganin Kṣamā-Śramaṇa, the writer of that particular verse, accepted the chronology of the memorial verses according to which Candragupta became king 255 years before Vikrama. There are other Jain traditions which try to determine the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* with reference to the Vikrama Samvat.

(1) In the *Vicāra-śrenī* of Merutuṅga who was a Śvetābara, the period between the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* and the Vikrama-Samvat is given as 470 years. (2) In the *Mahāvira-carita* of Nemicaṇḍracārya, the interval between the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* and the birth of the Śaka king is stated to be 605 years and 5 months. (3) In the *Trilōkasāra* of Nemicaṇḍra, a Digambara, the interval between the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* and the coronation of the Śaka king is 605 years and 5 months. (4) In the *Trailōkya-Prajñapti* of Yati-Vṛṣabha, a Digambara, the interval between the *Vira-Nirvāṇa* era and the Śaka era is stated once as 605 years and 5 months, and again as 461 years. Except the very last, all the others come from the same source as the *Vira-Nirvāṇa*, according to them, falls in 527 B. C. approximately. The little bit of difference that may be made out between the second and any one of the rest is due to the fact that Nemicaṇḍracārya could not express himself properly. Similarly, Dr. Hoernle points out that the 18th gāthā of the *Sarasvatī-gaccha* says Vikrama was crowned when he was full 16 years old, and that he was

born 470 years after the death of Mahāvira. That is, Vikrama was crowned full 486 years after the death of Mahāvira. Now as Vikrama is held to have been crowned in 57 B. C., the Vira-Nirvāṇa falls in 544 B. C. ($= 57 + 487$). It will thus be perceived (and it is well-known to scholars) how untrustworthy is the nature of calculations of dates of ancient events which involve references to the Vikrama Samvat, and who can guarantee the truth of the tradition of Candragupta's having been king 255 years before Vikrama the tradition eventually followed by Devardhiganin. After all, it seems safer to hold the date 325 B. C. for the accession of Candragupta, a date obtained from considerations of Buddhistic traditions. It may at best be 322 or 321 B. C. which Dr. Kern has tried to get and to which Dr. Geiger has lent his support. But 312 B. C. is almost impossible. Accordingly we hold the date 480 B. C. ($= 325 + 155$) or 477 B. C. ($= 322 + 155$) for the death of Mahāvira, because the calculations in the memorial verses can be shown to be all wrong. Hence we accept Hemendra which he says that Candragupta became king 155 years after the death of Mahāvira, but can not combine this with the wrong date of the memorial verses to derive the date of the 'Vira-Nirvāṇa.

The date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa has already been shown to fall in 487 B. C. Now Dr. Geiger has shown that there was an era in Ceylone, which was started from 483 B. C. But it has not been settled whether this era had any connection with the date of the death of the Buddha, although Dr. Geiger is willing to accept this as the desired date. How are eras generally started? By a king or a very powerful authority to mark any important event in his life or some other event. The Vikrama era, the Maurya era, the Gupta era, the Seleuciaedean era, the Sātavāhana era &c. are the typical instances. Hence it seems more plausible that this era that was inaugurated in Ceylone from 483

B. C. marks off Vijaya's coronation in Ceylone. People however correctly remembered that Vijaya landed in Ceylone about the same time when the Buddha died (i. e. in 487 B. C.).

Caṇḍa Pradyōta thus reigned up to 490 B. C. and ascended the throne in 513 B. C.

The accession of Ajātaśatru falls in 495 B. C. and Bimbisāra who ruled full 52 years ascended the throne in 547 B. C. Thus Bimbisāra could hear religious sermons both from Buddha and Mahavīra.

The accession of Śiśunāga (= Nandivardhana) according to the Mahāvamśa took place 80 years (= 32 + 16 + 8 + 24) after the accession of Ajātaśatru i. e. it falls in 415 B. C. (= 495 - 80.) According to the Sthavirāvalīcarita, Nanda = Nandivardhana = Śiśunāga was offered the throne of Magadha 5 years before 415 B. C. i. e., 420 B. C.

Vīra-Nirvāṇa happened 60 years before this i. e., in 480 B. C. (= 420 + 60) according to the Sthavirāvalīcarita,

When Avantivardhana ruled for full 30 years (Mt.) the fame of the Pradyōtas was destroyed by Śiśunāga (= Nandivardhana) most probably in a war between the houses of Magadha and Avantī. This event may be dated in 415 B. C. Hence Avantivardhana succeeded to the throne of Avantī at 445 B. C.

The accession of Viśākhayūpa, the son of Pālaka, took place in 466 B. C. (= 490 - 24). He reigned for 50 years according to the Vāyu. Hence his reign ended in 416 B. C. (= 466 - 50) or 415 B. C. i. e. about the same year of the accession of Nandivardhana (= Śiśunāga).

TABLE (C)

Gāpāla Ajāta 465 B.C.—445 B.C. (Mt)	Pradyōta 613 B. C.—490 B.C. (Vā, Mt) Pāśaka 490 B. C.—4 6 B. C. (Va, Bō) Aśvārādhanā 445 B. C.—415 B. C. (Mt)	Bimbisāra 547 B. C.—495 B. C. Ajātaśatru 495 B. C.—493 B. C. Udayin 493 B. C.—497 B. C. Aśvārādha, Mūda 445 B. C.—439 B.C. Nigra-Dāsa 439 B. C.—415 B. C. Nandivardhana—Śāuṇḍya 415 B. C.—397 B. C. Kikavarna—Mahā-Nandīa 397 B. C.—369 B. C. Nakā-pādma, 369 B. C.—341 B. C. Śumśyā, dec. 341 B. C.—325 B. C.	Modified by Schav. Cat. which gives 98 years to the Nandas.
Aśvārādhanā 445 B. C.—415 B. C. (Mt)	Vāśiṣṭyaśva 406 B. C.—416 B. C. (Mt)		

Now we find the approximate time about which Prasena-jit ascended the throne of Śrāvastī. His sister was married to Bimbisāra who ascended the throne in 547 B. C.

After Bimbisāra had reigned for 28 years *i. e.* in about 519 B. C., his successor Darśaka was associated in the Government of Bimbisāra and conducted the affairs of the state for 24 years after which Bimbisāra was starved to death by Ajātaśatru in 495 B. C. The accession of Prasena-jit, the brother-in-law of Bimbisāra, to the throne of Śrāvastī may then be taken to be some date intermediate between 547 B. C. and 519 B. C. That is, it may be taken roughly about 533 B. C., remembering that Ajātaśatru as well as Vahī-Nara (=Naravāhana), the son of Udayana, were the sons-in-law of Prasena-jit (*Vidé Kat-Sar-sag*). Prasena-jit seems to have enjoyed a long reign.

Now Udayana married the sister of Darśaka, who began his rule from 519 B. C. Udayana also married the daughter of Candā Pradyōta who ascended the throne of Avantī in 513 B. C. Udayana died in 490 B. C. *i. e.* the same year in which his father-in-law Pradyōta died. In the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* we find that when Candā Mahāsena was no more, Udayana his son-in-law asked his elder brother-in-law Gōpāla to go to Avanti and take charge of the kingdom. But Gōpāla abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother Pālaka. But Udayana who was overwhelmed with sorrow at the news of the death of his father-in-law resolved to depart from this world full of misery. Accordingly he placed his son Naravāhana (=Vahī-Nara) under the care of Gōpāla and proceeded to a certain precipitous hill with his wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. They ascended to the top and killed themselves by falling from the precipice. The ancient Indian used to end his life by some such means when he thought that this world had no charm for him or that his life has been spoilt with sin and sorrow. We find Bhaṭṭa Kumārila burning himself to death in the 7th

century A. D. There are many other instances of suicide which may be thought superstitious. Even the modern age has not been able to transcend this superstition. We find the Japanese General Nogi killing himself by committing 'harikiri' on the death of his Emperor. Hence it may be admitted that the important information recorded in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* has nothing which can be discredited. The result is that the date of accession of Naravāhana (=Vahī-Nara), the son of Udayana, falls in 490 B. C. *i. e.*, the year of the death of Candā Pradyōta and Udayana. The accession of Udayana may be dated roughly about 500 B. C., considering that he was the son-in-law of Candā Pradyōta and contemporary of Ajātaśatru.



CHAPTER XXIII

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR.

Many have been the attempts to determine the date of this important event of India's history, but few of them can be acceptable. The important Purāṇas have tried to determine a particular period of time, namely, the period between the birth of Parikṣit, the son of Abhimanyu, and the coronation of one and the same king whom the Vāyu and the Matsya call Mahāpadma, the great universal monarch who uprooted all the Kṣattriyas of India like a second Paraśurāma. That is, it is the intention of the Purāṇas to supply us with the length of time that elapsed from the accession of Yudhiṣṭhira, the great universal emperor of ancient India, to the coronation of Mahāpadma, another great universal monarch. These two Purāṇas¹ say that this period was one of 1050 years.

The Viṣṇu calls the latter by the name Nanda which evidently stands for Mahāpadma Nanda, as Mahāpadma and his eight sons were well-known as the nine Nandas. Mr. Jayswal has assumed that the name Nanda stands for Mahā-Nandi, the father of Mahāpadma. He has, by this means, attempted to reconcile the divergent evidence of the Viṣṇu according to which the said period was one of 1015 years.² But the truth is that all the Purāṇas try to specify one and the same period i. e. the period between the 'abhiṣeka' ceremony of one and the same person viz. Mahāpadma Nanda, and the birth of Parikṣit, and that in this determination, the Viṣṇu differs from the Vāyu and the Matsya.

The historian here notices that these mutually conflicting Puranic calculations were made after the time of Mahāpadma

¹ Va. 99, 415; Mt. 273, 35.

² Va. IV. 24, 32.

Nanda ; and the description in the Purāṇas of the Maurya-Sunga, Kāṇva, Andhra dynasties and the mention of the Guptas indicate that these divergent calculations were made when the final redactions of the Purāṇas were completed, i. e. when it was wrongly supposed that the first Andhra king Simuka succeeded the last Kāṇva king Suśarman ; when Śiśunāga, and Kākavarṇa were wrongly carried up to the top of the list above Bimbisāra ; when Ajaka of the Pradyōta dynasty was wrongly supposed to be the successor of Viśakhayūpa, the son of Palaka ; when Śakya, Śuddhōdana, and Rāhula &c. were wrongly interwoven in the Kōśala line between Sañjaya and Prasenajit ; when Ajātaśatru was placed two steps above Bimbisāra in the Vāyu and three steps below Bimbisāra in the Matsya. The calculation of Varāhamihira followed up by Kalhana that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth 653 years after the Kali era¹ is absurd on the very face of it because it rests on a fanciful interpretation of the nonsensical data that the constellation Great Bear stood on the Regulus at the time when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth². Even admitting that the interpretation is correct, it cannot be accepted in the absence of corroborative evidence. Hence it is necessary to reject all these calculations and to determine afresh the date in the light of genealogical considerations.

We have shown 28 years to be the most reasonable period that should be assigned to each member of a reigning series (vidé p. 176). Now three dynasties have been handed down to us in a more or less perfect order, all of them starting from the time of the Mahābhārata war to the age of Gautama Buddha : (1) the Kōśala line of the descendants of Br̥had-
vala, (2) the Māgadha line of the descendants of Sahadeva,

¹ श्रीयु युद्धं सावर्षं चाभिधेयं न भूयते ।

अभिधेयं वर्षाचारमभूत् कल्पयाचनः ॥ Br. Samh.

² आरभ्य नवाहं सुतम्, आरभति हर्षी सुविजिरे सुपत्नी ।

वसुभिश्चमदिदुतः, मककाककाय राज्ञम् ॥ Br. Samh., 13, 3 ; Raj. Tar. 1, 56.

and (3) the Paurava line of the descendants of Abhimanyu Arjuni. We adjust these lines one by one.

THE KŌSALA LINE.

We adjust the lineal descendants of Br̥havalā, the descendant of Lava of the Śravastī line thus :—

- (1) Br̥hadvalā
- (2) Br̥hatksapa-Br̥hadraṇa-Br̥hatksaya.
- (3) Urukṣaya-Tataksaya-Gurukṣepa.
- (4) Vatsavyūha
- (5) Prativyūha
- (6) Divākara Here the Purāṇa was narrated.
- (7) Sahadeva
- (8) Br̥hadaśva
- (9) Bhānuratha
- (10) Pratitāśva
- (11) Supratika
- (12) Marudeva
- (13) Sunakṣatra
- (14) Kinnara-Puṣkara.
- (15) Antarikṣa
- (16) Suseṇa-Suvarṇa-Suparṇa-Sutapas
- (17) Amitrajit-Sumitra
- (18) Br̥hadrāja-Bharadvāja
- (19) Dharmin-Varhis
- (20) Kṛtāñjaya

(21) Brāta

(21) Rāṇañjaya

(22) Sañjaya

(23) Mahākōsala

(24) Prasenajit

(25) Viṣṇudabha-Kṣudraka

(26) Kṣulika

(27) Suratha

(28) Sumitra

The Puranic statement that Śākya was the son of Sañjaya and that Śuddhōdana was descended from Śākya¹ cannot be accepted. In the Mahāvamsa we find that Sakka (=Śākya?) used to reign at Devadaha and was for this reason known as Devadaha-Sakka² (=Śākya of Devadaha). Śākya's daughter Kaccānā was given in marriage to Siṃhahanu (=Siṃhahanu), whereas Śākya's son Añjana married Yaśōdharā the sister of Siṃhahanu.³ Siṃhahanu's son Śuddhōdana, by Kaccānā, married Māyā and Prajāvatī, the two daughters of Añjana.⁴ Śuddhōdana's son Siddhārtha by Māyā⁵ married Bhaddakaccānā⁶ the daughter of Añjana's son Suppabuddha.⁷ Bhaddakaccānā's mother Amitā was the daughter of Siṃhahanu.⁸ The relation is best illustrated by the genealogical tree below :



Siddhārtha was thus connected on the mother's side by many bonds of union with Śākya of Devadaha.

Thus the relation can be shortly expressed by saying that Śākya and Jayasena interchanged their daughters in marriage. Añjana, the son of Śākya, and Siṃhahanu, the son of Jayasena, did similarly interchange their daughters in marriage, and Siddhārtha was born to Śuddhōdana by Māyā, the daughter of Añjana. Siddhārtha was thus descended on the mother's side from Śākya of Devadaha, and was best known as Śākyamuni (=a Muni of the Śākya

¹ Va. 99, 288.

² MV. II, 18.

³ MV. II, 22.

⁴ MV. II, 22 ; 19.

⁵ MV. II, 17.

⁶ MV. II, 18.

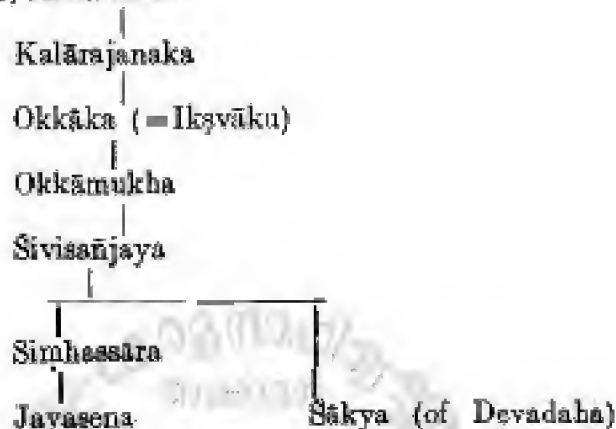
⁷ MV. II, 24.

⁸ MV. II, 20 ; 21 ; 22.

clan) and as Śākyaśimha (=a lion amongst the Śākya) because he was supposed to have been descended from Śākya and married a Śākya Princess.

In reality Siddhārtha was descended from Śivisañjaya, and belonged to the Ikṣvākus of Kōsala.

We have, Makhadeva



Śākya of Devadaha himself seems to have been a descendant of Śiva-Sañjaya. The names Okkāka (=Ikṣvāku ?); Mandhātār &c. of the ancestors of Śivisañjaya indicate that the kings of Kapilavāstu belonged to the Ikṣvāku family that ruled at Śrāvastī, and that some scion of the family migrated to the adjacent territory of Kapilavāstu to establish a principality there. The Puranists of the Gupta period remembered that Śākya was a descendant of some Sañjaya and that the Śākya were a branch of the Ikṣvākus. Accordingly they have been naturally confounded between Śivisañjaya, the ancestor of Śākya, and Sañjaya the son of Rapañjaya of the Śrāvastī line. The theory that the Śākya belonged to the Saka tribe cannot deserve any credence because all the traditions are in favour of their Kōsala Ikṣvāku origin.

Rapañjaya, the 22nd king in the list has been mentioned as the son and successor of Kṛtañjaya placed at the 20th step in the Viṣṇu,¹ the Matsya², the Brahmāṇḍa and the

¹ Va. IV, 22, 3.

² Mt. 271, 11.

Bhāgavata, but the Vāyu¹ introduces Brāta between them ; and the truth seems to be on genealogical considerations that Brāta was the elder brother of Rapañjaya and died without issue, and after his short reign, his younger brother Rapañjaya succeeded him.

The exigencies of the genealogical table show that Mahākōśala was the successor of Sañjaya, the son of Rapañjaya.

Thus from the accession of Brhatksaya on the death of his father Brhadvala at the Bhārata war, to the accession of Prasenajit 22 generations or 616 years ($=22 \times 28$) passed away.

The accession of Prasenajit has been dated in circa. 533 B. C.

This places the date of the Bhārata war about 1149 B. C. ($=616 \div 533$).

THE MĀGADHA LINE

After Sahadeva Jarāsandhi we place the following kings of the Māgadha line, one after another in succession.

- (1) Sōmādhi-Sōmāpi-Mārjāri.
- (2) Śrutaśravas.
- (3) Ayutāyus-Apratīpi.
- (4) Niramitra.
- (5) Suksattra-Sukṛtta
- (6) Brhatkarman.
- (7) Senajit Here the Purāṇa was narrated.
- (8) Śrutañjaya
- (9) Mahāvāhu-Bibhu-Vipra.
- (10) Śuci
- (11) Ksema
- (12) Bhubata-Anubrata-Subrata
- (13) Dharmanetra-Sunetra
- (14) Nivṛti-Nṛpati.
- (15) Subrata-Suśrama-Sama-Trinetra.

¹ Va. 99, 287.

- (16) Dṛdhasena-Dyumatsena
- (17) Mahinetra-Sumati
- (18) Sucala-Acala
- (19) Sunetra
- (20) Satyajit
- (21) Viśvajit acc. 588 B. C.
- (22) Ripuñjaya acc. 563 acc.

Thus we have a line of 22 kings from Sōmādhi to the last king Ripuñjaya both inclusive. Now the Vāyu Purāṇa was related when the 7th king Senajit was reigning.¹ From and including Senajit 16 Bārhadratha kings successively ruled Magadha. The list is in complete agreement with the Puranic computation which says that the number of the future Bārhadrathas is sixteen².

Senajit was the younger contemporary of the Aikāvāka king Divākara and the Paurava king Adhisimakṛṣṇa and it was at the beginning of Senajit's reign that the Vāyu Purāṇa was related to the audience Rsis by the Paurāpika Sūta, when the former were holding for two years a long three-year sacrifice on the banks of the Dṛśadvatī. The number cannot be and is actually not 32 from and including Sōmādhi to Ripuñjaya, as has been supposed by Mr. Jayswal; because there were only 6 kings above Senajit up to Sōmādhi and none have been omitted from the list of these latter.

Adhisimakṛṣṇa whose contemporary Senajit was, was the famous son of Aśvamedhadatta, the grandson of Janamejaya Pārikṣita. Aśvamedhadatta's father Śatānīta I read the Vedas from Yājñavalkya as we have said before. Consequently, in the Paurava line, we have 6 kings from Abhi manyu Ārjuni to Adhisimakṛṣṇa both inclusive, and the last of whom was the contemporary of Senajit, the Māgadha king. Hence no Māgadha king has been omitted from

¹ सेनाजित् सामन्तं तस्मिन् एता वै श्रीत्यन्ते वनाः ॥ Va. 99, 300.

² श्रीकर्मणि द्वात्रिंशो ब्रह्मर्षिस्तु ब्रह्मर्षिः ॥ Va. 99, 308; Ms. 271, 29.

the list. The number 32, should be made up from and including Bṛhadratha I, the son of Uparicara Vasu.¹ The last king, however, of the line, Ripuñjaya after a long reign of 50 years² was quite advanced in years when he was murdered by his minister Punika³ in 513 B. C. Thus according to the Puranic data Ripuñjaya ascended the throne of Ujjayini in 563 B. C.

Now we have 21 steps from the accession of Sōmādhi to the accession of Ripuñjaya.

Alloting 28 years per step, the accession of Sōmādhi falls 588 years ($= 21 \times 28$) before the accession of Ripuñjaya.

That is, the date of Mahābhārata war falls approximately about 1151 B. C. ($= 513 + 588$) from the genealogical considerations of the Bārhadhratha dynasty.

Now we place the lineal descendants of Arjuna Pāṇḍava⁴ thus:—

- (1) Abhimanyu
- (2) Parikṣit
- (3) Janamejaya
- (4) Śatānika I
- (5) Āśvamedhadatta
- (6) Adhisainakṛṣṇa Here the Purāṇa was narrated.
- * (7) Nicakṣu—Vivakṣu—Nirvaktra
- (8) Uṣṇa—Ukta—Bhuri
- (9) Citraratha
- (10) Śuciratha
- (11) Br̥ṣṇimant
- (12) Suṣena

¹ Va. 99, 306a.

² Mt. 271, 29; Va. 99, 306.

³ Mt. 272, 1; Va. 99, 310.

⁴ Va. 99, 249-277; Mt. 50, 56-67; Va. IV, 21; Bh. IX, 22, 33-44; Kāt-sar-sag; R. Sen from Kalpa-Sūtra of Bhadravāhu pp. 155, 156.

* The correct form of the name seems to be Nṛcakṣas which means an observer, a father, a guardian of men (नृचक्ष, नृचक्ष, नृचक्ष, नृचक्ष) as stated in the Aranya Saṃhitā of the Sāmaveda II, 2, as well as in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa I, 5, 3; 19.



The Bhāgavata Purāṇa inserts one Sahasrānika between (4) Satānika I and (5) Aśvamedhadatta; but it is certain that this Sahasrānika is a spurious creation. Because Aśvamedhadatta is mentioned to be the son of Śatānika I in the Vāyu,¹ the Viṣṇu² and the Matsya³; and the Mahābhārata explicitly states that Śatānika I, the son of Janamejaya Pāriksita begat Aśvamedhadatta on the daughter of the king of Videha.⁴ Again, the Vāyu introduces Ruca between (13) Sutārtha and (14) Nṛcaṣu and the Viṣṇu calls him Rca; but the Matsya and the Bhāgavata omit him and say that Nṛcaṣu was the son of Sunitha.⁵ We have come across many cases like this, particularly in the case of Sala, Dala

¹ Va. 99, 267.

² Va. IV. 21, 3.

³ Mt. 50, 66.

⁴ अश्वमेधदत्तां ही सुतो जगामे मत्तानीकः, मङ्ककचं च . मत्तानीकस्य नरेन्द्रां पुनः कर्तुम् अश्वमेधदत्त इति . Gd. MBh. I, 35, 84.

⁵ Mt. 50, 82; Bh. IX, 22, 41.

and Bala, the sons of the Aikṣvāka king Pāripātra. The truth is that Rea was the elder brother of Nṛcakṣu and reigned for a short time, and after him, his brother Nṛcakṣu became the king. The Vāyu is right when it says that there were 25 future kings¹ from and including Adhīśimakṛṣṇa to the last king Kṣemaka.

Again the grandfather of Udayana is named Sahasrāṇika by Bhāṣa,² and Vasudāman by the Purāṇas³ Sahasrāṇika was a contemporary of Bimbisāra and received religious instructions from Mahāvīra.⁴ The Jaiṇas call him Sasāṇika which is evidently a softening of 'Sahasāṇika,' the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit form 'Sahasrāṇika.' Sasāṇika was probably the same as the Puranic Vasudāman and had his son Śatāṇika II. Udayana was the son of Śatāṇika II. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara says that Śatāṇika's son Sahasrāṇika was the father of Udayana. Thus the Kathāsarit-sāgara reverses the order certainly wrongly. Vinayavijayaganin in his Subhḍhikā commentary to the Kalpasūtra draws from old Jain sources and says that when Mahāvīra visited the town Kauśāmbī, the king of that place was Śatāṇika and the queen was Mṛgāvati.⁵ The Kathā-sarit-sāgara, in reversing the order says that Mṛgāvati was the wife of Sahasrāṇika the son of Śatāṇika.⁶ But this is wrong for Mṛgāvati was the queen of Śatāṇika II.

Then again the names Mṛdu and Tigma after Nṛpañjaya, the 19th descendant from Arjuna, indicate that Nṛpañjaya's first son was Mṛdu (or blunt) and that his second son was Tigma (or sharp).

Thus according to this adjustment, Udayana was the 22nd in descent from Parikṣit and Vahinara was the 23rd.

¹ Va. 99, 277. ² Car. Loc. p. 58. ³ Mt. 50, 85; Vs. IX, 21, 3.

⁴ R. D. Sen's Historical Essays P. 156 (from Kalpasūtra of Bhadravāha).

⁵ ततः क्रमेण कौशांबीं गच्छन् ब्रह्मर्षी राजा, सम्राज्ञी देवी, विजया प्रतिपत्तौ बाह्योदयनपुत्रेण सह; सुसुतोऽपामकशर्मा जन्मो, सः च नाविका भगवन्ना भगवः । comms. Kalpasūtra VI. 118. ⁶ Kat-sag-sag. ch. IX. 29; 39; 69; 71.

0	Rece. entered the	Sakadeva	Tobeska	Arjuna
1	Bhadrā battle.	Somādhi	Bhadrala	Athimanya
2		Surasaxa	Bhadrena	Parājit
3		Ayutisya	Unkaya	Janamajaya
4	Ajātasatru	Nirmitra	Vatsavyūha	Satānka I
5	Bhadraesha,	Saketa	Pradyūtha	Aśramadhodatta
6		Bhaskarman	Dakṣa	Aśhlimokṣa
7	More the Purāṇa	Kesaji	Sahadeva	Nirakṣa-Nirakṣa
8	was related.	Śrutodjaya	Dhodaśva	Ugga-Ugga-Bhumi
9		Bibhu-Vipra	Bhānuretha	Uttaratha
10		and	Pradāśva	Sacirestha
11		Kema	Suprāśka	Brahmān
12		Sabara-Mahabata	Mopudaya	Guṇa
13		Dharmometra	Guṇakantira	Śuntha
14		Nirvā-Niputi	Kintira	Nrakṣa
15		Tameta	Antarika	Sukhala
16		Saṁtana-Sabara	Supra-Savara	Pacipara
17		Dyāmitra	Antarjit	Sakya-Sutapas
18		Mahimeta-Sumati	Bhadraka	Mahale
19		Sarala-Aśla	Dhamin	Nripalaya
20		Someta-Suntha	Kramjara	Nrān
21		Katyaji	Ranajaya	Tigra
22		Vijvaji	Sajaya	Brahmā
23	Purika	Rapudjaya	Mahaleśa	Vandana-Sabara
24	Pradyūha		Prasajit	Satānka II
25	Śākā		Kaudaka-Vijudaha	Udayana
26	Avasthārdhama.			Vahina
27				

From the accession of Parikṣit to the accession of Udayana 22 generations or 616 years ($=22 \times 28$) passed away.

Now Dr. Fleet calculates mainly from the Śānti, the Anuśāsana, the Aśvamedha and the Āśrāma-vāsika Parvans of the Mahābhārata that after the great war Yudhiṣṭhira reigned for 20 years only (J. R. A. S. 1911) and Mr. Pargiter follows it up (Dynasties of the Kali Age). Both of them think that the period of 36 years mentioned in the Mahābhārata¹ should be counted from the installation of Yudhiṣṭhira as Yuvarāja by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, before the Rājāsūya. But the calculation of Dr. Fleet is wrong for the following reasons :

(i) The Mahābhārata does not and cannot mention all the events of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira. It mentions only the important events, and the unimportant events have been justly omitted ; and although the sum of the periods between the important events appear to be 20 years approximately as shown by Dr. Fleet, there were intervening periods during which many things unworthy of the notice of the chroniclers happened. Consequently these small uneventful periods have been omitted from the Mahābhārata which however remembers that Yudhiṣṭhira observed portents of evil at the 36th year of his reign² ; and it is no good distorting this clear meaning of the verse we have quoted below from the Maṇṣala-parvan.

(ii) Śrīkṛṣṇa observed³ similarly that one dark lunar

¹ अहर्निशं त्वं यः प्राप्य वर्षं कोरुष्वनन्तम् ।
इदं विपरीतानि निमित्तानि द्रुषिष्विह ॥ Gd. MBh. Mans. 1, 1.
अहर्निशं त्वं ततो वर्षं वृक्षीनामनयो वृक्षान् ।
मन्त्रान् सुवर्णं ते षु भिक्षुः कालचक्षितः ॥ Gd. MBh. Mans. 1, 13.

² यमं यमन्तु वृषीर्देवः यः प्रातः कालपर्यन्तम् ।
अगुरुश्चानलावकाः तान् दत्ता मानदीविरन् ॥ ८॥
अगुरुं चो वन्द्यौ कर्तव्यं राहुका पुनः ।
प्रातः वै भारते द्रुहं मन्त्राश्चैव ज्ञयाय नः ॥ ९॥
विषमज्ज्वलं कालं तं परिचिन्त्य जनार्दनम् ।
येन प्रातः स अहर्निशं वर्षं वै कैमिन्तुवन् ॥ १०॥ Gd. MBh. Mans. 2, 18—20.
Kumbh, MBh. Mans. 3, 18—20.

fortnight consisted of 13 days only just on the eve of the Bhārata war, and that the same thing happened just before the civil war of the Yadus, and there were eclipses on both the days. He calculated mentally the period between the two events, and was convinced that the 36th year was come (or was over) after the Bhārata war.

(iii) Gāndhārī while on the battle field of Kurukṣetra inflicted a curse on Śrīkrṣṇa that the latter with his kinsmen, friends, and sons would be killed at the 36th year after the great Mahābhārata war.¹

It is unfortunate that these decisive statements in the Mahābhārata have not been noticed by Dr. Fleet. Accordingly we conclude that the reign-period of Yudhiṣṭhira was one of 36 years, and that the calculation of Dr. Fleet is unacceptable.

Thus the Mahābhārata war took place 652 years (= 616 + 36) before the accession of Udayana *i. e.* before 500 B. C. This places the date of the great battle about 1152 B. C.

We shall now see how far these dates are supported by the figures given for the reign-periods of the successive kings of the Bārhaspathya dynasty from Sōmādhi to Ripunjaya.

Corruptions have crept into the expressions for the reign-periods, but most of them are recoverable as the following table will show. The reign-period of Śrutaśravas, the son of Sōmādhi, is stated as 64 years (Catuṣṣaṣṭhi), but so high a figure is absurd for two reasons. First, we have heard of no king in this world having reigned so long as 64 years. Secondly, his father Sōmādhi enjoyed an exceptionally long reign of 50 years after which the son Śrutaśravas could reign

¹ लघुपक्षिणे वर्षे षट्विंशे वसुसूदन ।

दुष्टकायिदेवामात्रो दुष्टप्रभो वनेषु ।

कुदन्तिनाम् एतेन निषने कवकाकादि ॥ ² Gd. MBh. Stri. 25, 44.

I am indebted to my colleague Professor Vamanali Vedantatirtha for this reference.

only for a few years just like Edward VII after Victoria. The line most probably ran as **शुतयवाश्च तु षट् च समस्त** **साम्बदे** &c. Afterwards, the letters in the line have been brought closer together and **षट् च** necessarily modified into **षष्ठि**.

Mr. Jayaswal is quite reasonable when he holds that 6 and 8 years should be allotted to Śuci and Dṛdhasena respectively. (J. B. O. R. S. Sept. 1915).

Lastly, the absurd figure 64 (**चतुः षष्ठी** (Va) for Bhubata-Subrata-Anubrata is rejected and the reasonable figure 24 is accepted because **चतुः षष्ठी** may mean four times six when it is recognized that there is and I at the end.

There is another reason for which the reduction of the long reign-periods of the four kings mentioned above appears legitimate. In the Mahābhārata¹ Parikṣit is spoken of as having protected his subjects for 60 years. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha says that this period is to be taken from the birth of Parikṣit and not from his accession.² Nīlakaṇṭha is perfectly right in his interpretation and is thus justified in reducing the reign-period of Parikṣit to 24 years because there is the explicit statement in the Mahābhārata³ that Parikṣit was quite old when he was sixty years of age. At this time the Nāga king killed him. Nīlakaṇṭha correctly remembers that Parikṣit ascended the throne when he was 36 years old and thus he supports us in rejecting the calculation of Dr. Fleet mentioned before. Accordingly the long periods allotted to the four kings most probably represent their life periods. Each of them is marked with an asterisk.

¹ महा द्वापराय विता षष्ठिर्बर्षावसावत् । Gd. MBh. I, 49, 17.

² जन्मतः न तु राज्यदायात् । Nīlakaṇṭha.

³ परिधान्यो वयःसप्त षष्ठिर्बर्षा उत्तरितः । Gd. MBh., I, 49, 26.

	Accepted reign-periods.	Authorities.
Sōmādhi	50 years	eVa. 50 ; bMt. 50.
*Śrutasravas	6 "	Va. Mt. Bd. 64 or 6.
Ayutāyus	26 "	Va. 26 ; bk Mt. 26 ; Bd. 26.
Niramitra	40 "	Va. 500 ; Mt. 40.
Sukṣattra	50 "	eVa. 50.
Bṛhatkarman	23 "	Va. 23 ; Mt. 23 ; Bd. 23.
Senajit	23 "	Va. 23 ; Mt. 50 ; Bd. 23.
Śrutāñjaya	35 "	eVa. 35 ; fg Mt. 35.
Bibha	28 "	eVa. 28 ; gm Va. 35 ; Mt. 28.
*Suci	6 "	Va. 58 but see J. B. O. R. S.
Kṣema	28 "	Va. 28 ; Mt. 28 ; Bd. 58.
*Subrata	24 "	Va. 64 or 24.
Dharmauetra	5 "	Va. 5 ; Bd. 5.
Nivṛti	58 "	Va. 58 ; Mt. 58 ; Bd. 58.
Trinetra-Suśrama	28 "	Va. 38 ; Mt. 28 ; Bd. 28.
*Dṛghasena	8 "	fVa. 58 ; but see J. B. O. R. S. 1915.
Samati-Mahānetra	33 "	Va. 33 ; Mt. 33 ; Bd. 33.
Sucala-Ācala	22 "	Va. 22 ; Mt. 32.
Sunetra	40 "	Va. 40 ; Mt. 40 ; Bd. 40.
Satyajit	30 "	eVa. 30 ; Hall's Bd. 30.
Viśvajit	25 "	dim Va. 24 ; ek Mt. 25 ; Bd. 25.
Ripuāñjaya	30 "	Va. 50 ; Mt. 50 ; Bd. 50.

Total 638 years.

The date of accession of Candā Prādyōta has been determined to be 513 B. C. Hence the sum total of the reign periods of the successive kings of the Barhadratha dynasty places the Mahābhārata battle in 1151 B. C. (=513+638).

Now we shall make some astronomical calculations. At the very outset, we may inform our readers that the method of calculation adopted by Babu Bankim Candra Chattōpādhyāya is defective inasmuch as Bankim Babu gratuitously

assumes that at the time of the death of Bhīṣma Śāntanava, the Uttarāyana commenced on the 28th or the 29th day of Solar Māgha. The Bīśuddha Śiddhānta Pañjikā (which calculates from the British and French Nautical Almanacs) for 15 or 16 successive years will convince the reader that the Śuklā Aṣṭamī of the lunar month of Māgha, on which the great hero expired, may fall on any day between the 4th or the 5th day of the Solar Māgha and the 5th day of the Solar Phālguna. In the year in which the intercalary month is added, the Māghī Śuklā Aṣṭamī falls back almost towards the first part of the Solar Phālguna. Hence the assumption of Bankim Babu that the winter-solstice occurred at that time on the 28th or the 29th day of Solar Māgha is purely gratuitous. Accordingly his calculation that by the period between the time of the Mahābhārata events and our time the Uttarāyana has receded by 49 days, is unacceptable.

We have got to adopt other methods of doing it. Varāhamihira says¹ "At one time the sun's southward course commenced on his reaching the middle of Āśleṣā and its northward course on its reaching the beginning of Dhanīṣṭhā; this must have been the case, as we find it so recorded in in ancient books." Bhaṭṭōpala, the commentator of the Bṛhat Saṃhitā elucidates the verse quoted below by stating² that "in ancient books" means "in old books of astronomy like those of Parāśara &c."

Varāhamihira himself says³ in speaking about Paulīśa Siddhānta that the Dakṣiṇāyana during the time of Pulīśa, as in Parāśara's time, used to take place when the sun was at the middle of Āśleṣā. In the Vedāṅga Jyōtiṣa ascribed

¹ भास्के वाचस्पतिस्तुल्यमयनं रविर्निहासय ।

तुलं कदाचिदासीद् मेमोक्तं पूर्वमायनं च ॥ Br. Samh. III, 1.

² पूर्वमायनं च, वाराणसीदिग् । Bhaṭṭōpala.

³ भास्के वाचस्पदासीद् यदा निहासि; किरीष्णकिराचस्तुल्यमयनं तदासीद् ॥ Pañico Siddhāntikā III, 5. 39.

to Lagadha we find the same statement¹ namely that the Uttarāyana commenced with the sun at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā and the Dakṣiṇāyana with the sun at the middle of Āśleṣā.

Parāśara himself says² that when the Uttarāyana will commence with the sun not quite reaching the Śraviṣṭhā then there will be a cause of great fear. Garga also supports³ Parāśara in this respect. What is the cause of the great fear alluded to by Parāśara and Garga? The great fear is due to a prospect of a great slaughter of human beings.⁴

Now there was only one astronomer Parāśara in ancient Indian history. He was probably the father of Vyāsa, and the mention of Brh̥dha Parāśara, Madhya Parāśara, Br̥hat Parāśara &c. indicates that Parāśara's works were elaborated and abridged by later writers on Astronomy, who rendered the works of Parāśara into easy Sanskrit and made further additions to it. Now all these go to show that at the time when Parāśara observed the heavens, the Uttarāyana used to commence with the sun at the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā i. e. at that time, the longitude of the sun was $293^{\circ} 20'$, as measured from the fixed point of Hindu astronomers. The fixed point is the end of the space called the Revati and the beginning of the space called the Āśvinī.

This year i. e. in 1921 A. D., the sun enters the winter solstice on the 21st December at 21h 3m⁵.

¹ प्रथमे त्वेतिहासी सूर्योत्तरायणादुदत् ।

सर्वोत्तरं दक्षिणांकेषु सायनायनयोः मदा ॥ Vedaṅga-Jyōt. 7.

² तदा च पराशरः—

मयमासी वैशाखसुदश्यां प्रथमे ।

दक्षिणमस्तुं वा रा मदाभयाय ॥ Quoted by Bhaṭṭōpala.

³ तदा च तदाः—

मदा निवर्तनेऽमासी इतिहासुतयायम् ।

साक्षे वा दक्षिणैः प्रोक्तदा विन्यास्यद्वयम् । Quoted by Bhaṭṭōpal

⁴ दिवं दृष्टि—जगत् नाशयति ॥ Bhaṭṭōpala.

⁵ English Nautical Almanac for 1921 p. 505

Now the astronomical date is measured from noon to noon. Hence 21st Dec. 21h. 8m. at the longitude of Greenwich gives us 22nd Dec. 9h. 8m. Greenwich civil date.

Adding 5h. 53m. 21s. for the difference in longitude of Alipura we get

$$\begin{array}{r} 9\text{h. } 8\text{m.} \\ 5\text{h. } 53\text{m. } 21\text{s.} \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$15\text{h. } 1\text{m. } 21\text{s.}$$

That is, the sun enters the winter-solstice at 15h. 1m. 21s. on the 22nd Dec. Alipura civil date.

Thus the *Bisuddha Siddhānta Pañjikā* is sufficiently accurate in this respect as we find it there that the *Sāyana Makaramkrānti* just begins at the end of 20 Daṇḍas, 57 Palas on the 7th Pauṣa (the 22nd December).

Now the exact moment of the sun's entering the winter-solstice could not be observed by the ancients. The very name 'solstice' indicates that. They were guided by the length of the day-time i. e. by the interval between the rising and the setting of the sun. When the length of the day just appreciably began to increase, the ancients used to consider that day to be the day of *Uttarāyana*.

Even in our times we find¹ that the length of the day on

	Daṇḍas	Palas	Vipalas
the 6th Pauṣa	26	44	5
7th "	26	44	5
8th "	26	44	5

The differences in the lengths of the days on the above successive dates are so very small that they do not come within the calculation of the astronomer. It is only on the 9th Pauṣa (or the 24th December) that the length of the day just appreciably increases.

¹ The *Bisuddha Siddhānta Pañjikā* for 1921 (calculated from the English and French Nautical Almanacs) pp. 361—64

The length of the	Danḍas	Palas	Vipalas
day on the 9th Pauṣa	26	44	15

The Bīśuddha Siddhānta Pañjikā calculates the length of the day from the Krānti of the sun at apparent noon neglecting atmospheric refraction. The same thing is done also by the western astronomers.

In the English Nautical Almanac we find that the longitude of the sun on the 24th December, 1921 at Greenwich noon, is $272^{\circ} 9' 35''$.

This longitude is measured from the first point of Aries. From this, if we subtract the distance between the first point of Aries and the fixed point adopted by Indian astronomers we will get the Ravisphuṭa on the 9th Pauṣa for Ālipura 5h. 53m. 21s. p. m.

The distance in degrees between the first point of Aries and the fixed point of the Indian astronomers is called the Ayanāmpśa by the Hindus.

To find this Ayanāmpśa on the 9th Pauṣa or the 24th December 1921, we observe that the Bengali year 1328 Śāla began on the 13th April at 8h. 21m. 50s. Ālipura civil date, as calculated from the tables of Rāghavānanda. The longitude of the sun at this moment, as calculated from the tables of Leverier = $22^{\circ} 37' 31''$.

The end of the year 1328 Śāla just happens at the end of 22 Danḍas and 6 Palas on the 30th Caitra or the 13th April 1922, as calculated from the tables of Rāghavānanda.

The Ayanāmpśa at this moment from Leveriers Tables = $22^{\circ} 38' 10''$.

Thus it is seen that during the whole year, the Ayanāmpśa has increased by $39''$ ($=22^{\circ} 38' 10'' - 22^{\circ} 37' 31''$.) seconds. It is due to the slow movement of the first point of Aries.

Distributing this increment in the Ayanāmpśa throughout the whole year, we see that the Ayanāmpśa on the 9th Pauṣa or the 24th December is $22^{\circ} 37' 58''$.

Subtracting this Ayanāp'ā from the sun's longitude on the 24th December at Greenwich noon i. e. at Ālipura 5h. 53m. 21s. p. m., we get

$$\begin{array}{r} 272^{\circ}. \quad 9'. \quad 34''. \\ 22^{\circ}. \quad 37'. \quad 58''. \\ \hline 249^{\circ}. \quad 31'. \quad 36''. \end{array}$$

This last result is the Ravisphuṭa or the sun's longitude measured from the Hindu fixed point, on the 24th December or the 9th Pausa at Ālipura 5h. 53m. 21s. p. m. Exactly this result is calculated by the Bīśuddha Siddhānta Pañjikā which gives the Ravisphuṭa as 8 | 9 | 31 | 36 or $249^{\circ}. 31' 36''$ at Ālipura 5h. 53m. 21s. p. m.

Now the Uttarāyaṇa was observed by Parāśara to begin appreciably with the sun at $293^{\circ}. 20'$ i. e. at the beginning of Śravasthā.

The difference between the two points

$$\begin{array}{r} 293^{\circ}. \quad 20'. \\ 249^{\circ}. \quad 31'. \quad 36''. \\ \hline = 43^{\circ}. \quad 48'. \quad 24''. \\ = 157704'' \end{array}$$

The present rate of precession of equinoxes per annum $= 50''.26$ from Newcomb's formula.

Hence this amount of precession has taken place in $\frac{157704}{50.26} = 3137 \frac{3838}{5026} = 3138$ years approx. This places the time of observation of Parāśara in 1217 B. C. ($= 3138 - 1921$).

This is quite reasonable for the approximate date of the Mahābhārata war, because Parāśara belongs to the 3rd step above Arjuna Pāṇḍava. If Parāśara be assumed to have made his observation at about his 70th year when he was quite mature in intellect, the date of the Mahābhārata war falls roughly about 1153 B. C. because Arjuna was roughly about 60 years old at the time when he fought at the war.

Parāśara and Garga have said that there would be a great slaughter of human beings when there would be Uttarāyaṇa with the sun not quite reaching the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā. By the phrase 'not quite reaching' they probably meant to fix the sun's position just a degree behind the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā. If 71 years during which there is a precession of a degree, be subtracted from the time of observation of Parāśara and if the great slaughter of human beings alludes to the Kurukṣetra, the date 1146 B. C. (= 1217—71) is obtained, while if the old Sūrya-Siddhānta rate of 66 years for precession be subtracted, the date 1151 B. C. is obtained for the battle.

We know that there was a solar eclipse just on the eve of the battle of Kurukṣetra.¹ We also know that on the 9th August 1896 A. D. there was a solar eclipse which was visible in the North Europe and Asia and we observed it to be a total eclipse in our boyhood. It is very interesting that hundred and sixty-nine cycles of the Chaldean Saros places the early occurrence of the eclipse just in 1151 B. C., the Saros consisting of 6585½ days.

Now let us recapitulate the various calculated dates of the great battle.

- (1) Calculations from the Kōsala genealogy give us 1149 B. C.
- (2) " " " Māgadha " " " 1151 B. C.
- (3) " " " Paurava " " " 1152 B. C.
- (4) Sum-total of the reign-periods of the successive kings of the Bārhadratha dynasty gives us " " " 1151 B. C.
- (5) The time of Parāśara's observation checks the date of the battle and places it about " " " 1152 B. C.

¹ Gd. MBh. VI, 3, 28, 32, 33. Particularly consult Nilakanṭha for the meaning the verses referred to here.

- (6) The probable date of the battle from
 the Chaldean Saros 1151 B. C.

Accordingly we take circa. 1150 B. C. as the most probable date of the great battle. (cf. The Mathematical Theory of Probability.).

Pratt's calculations :—

Archdeacon Pratt's calculations may best be stated in his own words from a letter addressed by him to Professor Cowell, March 21st, 1862. (J. A. S. B. 1862, p. 51). 'In reply to your question, how did Colebrooke deduce the age of the Vedas from the passage which he quotes from the Jyotisha or Vedic Calendar in the Essay (Vol. I, p. 110)? I beg to send you the following remarks :

'In that passage it is stated that the winter solstice was at the time the Vedas were written (?), at the beginning of Śravishthā or Dhanishthā and the summer solstice at the middle of Āśleshā.

'Now the Hindus divided the Zodiac into twenty-seven equal parts, called lunar mansions, of 13°. 20' each. Their names are

1. Aśvinī	10. Maghā	19. Mūlā
2. Bhāraṇī	11. P. Phālgunī	20. P. Āṣāḍhā
3. Kṛttikā	12. U. Phālgunī	21. U. Āṣāḍhā
4. Rōhiṇī	13. Hastā	22. Śravapā
5. Mr̥gaśīras	14. Citrā	23. Dhanishthā
6. Ārdrā	15. Svāti	24. Śatabhiṣā
7. Punarvasu	16. Viśākhā	25. P. Bhādrapada
8. Puṣyā	17. Anurādhā	26. U. Bhādrapada
9. Āśleṣā	18. Jyesthā	27. Revatī.

'The position of these lunar mansions among the stars is determined by the stars themselves and not by the sun, and is therefore unaffected by the precession of equinoxes. If,

therefore, we can determine their position at any one epoch, we know their position for all time. The Hindu books furnish us with the requisite information. In the translation of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Chap. VIII, p. 62, you will find that the conspicuous star Regulus, or α Leonis, is placed by the Hindu astronomers at 4 signs, 9 degrees from the beginning of these lunar mansions (or asterisms as they are called). As 4 signs equal one-third of the whole zodiac, they equal 9 lunar mansions. Hence the position of Regulus is 9° in Maghā, the 10th lunar mansion.

But by the *Jyotisha*, the summer solstice was in the middle of Āśleṣā, the 9th lunar mansion, at the epoch of the Vedas: therefore Regulus was half a lunar mansion + 9°, that is, 15°. 40', east of the summer solstice at that time.

By the nautical Almanac for 1859, the position of Regulus is given as follows:

Right ascension, January 1st, 1859.....10h. 0m. 53s.

North declination, ditto 12°. 39'. 12"7

From this I obtain by spherical trigonometry, the following result:

Longitude of Regulus, January 1st 1859...147°. 52'. 30'

Hence Regulus was east of summer solstice at that date by 57°. 52'. 30''. The summer solstice had therefore retrograded through 42°. 12'. 30'' = 42°-208 since the epoch of the Vedas. As the equinoxes and the solstices move backward on the ecliptic at the rate of 1° in 72 years, it must have occupied $72 \times 42-208 = 3039$ years to effect this change.

Hence the age of the Vedas was 3039 on 1st January 1859; or this date is 1181 B. C., that is, the early part of the twelfth century before the Christian era.

This differs from Colebrooke's result; he makes it the fourteenth century. Two degrees more of precessional motion would lead to this; but where he gets these from,

I do not know, unless it be by taking the constellations loosely, instead of the exact lunar mansions.* * *, therefore I have no doubt the lunar mansion, and not the constellation, is what this Jyotisha refers to and the early part of the twelfth century is the correct result.'



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p. 97	l. 18	"	Chandragupta, the son of Muri	"	a descendant of Muriya
p. 99	l. 9	"	Somaka	"	Somaka
p. 101	l. 6		transfer the comma after Vājineya		
p. 101	l. 27	"	iaḡ	"	king
p. 102	l. 6	"	Ajama	"	Arjuna
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p. 104 l. 3	„ Brhātkaṛman	„ Brhātkaṛman
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p. 120 in table	„ Bhānūcandra	„ Bhānūcandra
p. 122 l. 7	„ Ayōdyā	„ Ayōdhyā
p. 122 l. 8	„ Short time	„ a short time
p. 122 l. 8	„ from	„ from
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p. 162 l. 18	„ eighth	„ sixth
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p. 254 l. 20	„ Śatānita I	„ Śatānita I
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Other errors, if any, may be in the diacritical marks and will not present any difficulty.





